Valentina Varinelli

Italian Impromptus

A Study of P.B. Shelley's Writings in Italian with an Annotated Edition

LED Edizioni Universitarie di Lettere Economia Diritto

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In copertina: Portrait of Percy Bysshe Shelley (1792-1822). The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, Bodleian Library Shelley relics 15.

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ABBREVIATIONS

BLJ G.G. Byron, *Byron's Letters and Journals*, ed. L.A. Marchand, 13 vols., London, Murray, 1973-94.

BSM P.B. Shelley, *The Bodleian Shelley Manuscripts*, gen. ed. D.H. Reiman, 23 vols., New York, Garland, 1986-2002,

II, *Bodleian MS. Shelley adds. d. 7*, ed. I. Massey, 1987;

IV, *Bodleian MS. Shelley d. 1*, ed. E.B. Murray, 2 Parts, 1988;

V, *The Witch of Atlas Notebook: Bodleian MS. Shelley adds. e. 6*, ed. C.A. Adamson, 1997;

VI, *Shelley's Pisan Winter Notebook (1820-1821): Bodleian MS. Shelley adds. e. 8*, ed. C.A. Adamson, 1992;

VII, *"Shelley's Last Notebook": Bodleian MS. Shelley adds. e. 20*, eds. D.H. Reiman - H. Dworzan Reiman, 1990;

IX, *The Prometheus Unbound Notebooks: Bodleian MSS. Shelley e. 1, e. 2, and e. 3*, ed. N. Fraistat, 1991;

XII, *The Charles the First Draft Notebook: Bodleian MS. Shelley adds. e. 17*, ed. N. Crook, 1991;

XIV, *Shelley's "Devils" Notebook: Bodleian MS. Shelley adds. e. 9*, eds. P.M.S. Dawson - T. Webb, 1993;

XV, *The Julian and Maddalo Draft Notebook: Bodleian MS. Shelley adds. e. 11*, ed. S.E. Jones, 1990;

XVIII, *The Homeric Hymns and Prometheus Drafts Notebook: Bodleian MS. Shelley adds. e. 12*, ed. N. Moore Goslee, 1996;

XXI, *Miscellaneous Poetry, Prose and Translations from Bodleian MS. Shelley adds. c. 4, etc.*, ed. E.B. Murray, 1995;

XXIII, T. Tokoo, *A Catalogue and Index of the Shelley Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library and a General Index to the Facsimile Edition of The Bodleian Shelley Manuscripts, Volumes I-XXII*; with B.C. Barker-Benfield, *Shelleyan Writing*

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	Materials in the Bodleian Library: A Catalogue of Formats, Papers, and Watermarks, 2002.
CCJ	C. Clairmont, *The Journals of Claire Clairmont*, ed. M. Kingston Stocking, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 1968.
CPPBS	P.B. Shelley, *The Complete Poetry of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, eds. D.H. Reiman - N. Fraistat - N. Crook, 4 vols., Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000–.
DLI	N. Tommaseo - B. Bellini, *Dizionario della lingua italiana*, 8 voll., Torino, Unione tipografica-editrice, 1861-79.
GDLI	S. Battaglia (a cura di), *Grande dizionario della lingua italiana*, 21 voll., Torino, UTET, 1961-2002.
J	P.B. Shelley, *The Complete Works of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, eds. R. Ingpen - W.E. Peck, 10 vols., London, Benn, 1926-30 [Julian edition].
MWSJ	M. Shelley, *The Journals of Mary Shelley: 1814-1844*, eds. P.R. Feldman - D. Scott-Kilvert, I, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1987.
MWSL	M. Shelley, *The Letters of Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley*, ed. B.T. Bennett, I, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980.
MYRS	P.B. Shelley, *The Manuscripts of the Younger Romantics: Percy Bysshe Shelley*, gen. ed. D.H. Reiman, 9 vols., New York, Garland, 1985-97,
	II, *The Mask of Anarchy*, ed. D.H. Reiman, 1985;
	IV, *The Mask of Anarchy Draft Notebook: Huntington MS. HM 2177*, ed. M.A. Quinn, 1990;
	V, *The Harvard Shelley Poetic Manuscripts*, ed. D.H. Reiman, 1991;
	VI, *Shelley's 1819-1821 Huntington Notebook: Huntington MS. HM 2176*, ed. M.A. Quinn, 1994;
	VIII, *Fair-Copy Manuscripts of Shelley's Poems in European and American Libraries*, eds. D.H. Reiman - M. O'Neill, 1997.
PBSL	P.B. Shelley, *The Letters of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, ed. F.L. Jones, 2 vols., Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1964.
PS	P.B. Shelley, *The Poems of Shelley*, eds. G. Matthews - K. Everest - J. Donovan - C. Duffy - M. Rossington, 4 vols.,

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	London, Routledge (Longman Annotated English Poets), 1989–.
SC	K.N. Cameron - D.H. Reiman - D. Devin Fischer (eds.), *Shelley and His Circle, 1773-1822*, 10 vols., Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 1961–.
SPP	P.B. Shelley, *Shelley's Poetry and Prose*, eds. D.H. Reiman - N. Fraistat, New York, Norton, 2002.

Unless otherwise stated, Shelley's poetry is cited from *PS*. Byron's poems are quoted from Byron 1980-93 and Dante's works are quoted from Alighieri 1793, which Shelley owned. All translations are mine unless specified. Long quotations from Shelley's original compositions in Italian are followed by the corresponding passage from the English translations (included in the edition at the back of this book) in the body of the text and italicised. Whenever Shelley's errors are not relevant to the discussion, quotations from his Italian writings are cleaned up for ease of reading.

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1.
INTRODUCTION: P.B. SHELLEY AND THE ITALIAN LANGUAGE

Almost every aspect of Percy Bysshe Shelley's four-year residence in Italy has been explored since the poet's untimely death off the Tuscan coast on 8 July 1822. The centrality of the Italian exile to Shelley's mature poetry is undisputed. The influence of his encounter with Italy's varied landscapes, art, and antique treasures permeates virtually all his major works: from Venice in "Lines Written among the Euganean Hills" and "Julian and Maddalo", to the *coreodrammi* seen at the Teatro alla Scala, the Alps, and the Roman ruins in *Prometheus Unbound*, from Renaissance Rome in *The Cenci* to the skies, woods, and rivers around Pisa in the later lyrics. Similarly, Shelley's debts to Italian literature, and to Dante in particular, have long been investigated. The biographical dimension of his experience of Italy has also undergone close scrutiny, supported by the journals regularly kept by Mary Shelley and her stepsister, Claire Clairmont, thanks to which we probably know more about Shelley's day-to-day existence than that of any other writer of the period. Scholars have searched for reverberations in his poetry of the events that marked his life in Italy: the losses of two children, the estrangement from his wife, a varying number of (alleged) infatuations and affairs, the friendship and rivalry with Byron [1]. Compared with the attention that these, and other, aspects of Shelley's experience of Italy have received, the neglect of the

[1] The modern bibliography on Shelley and Italy is vast and constantly expanding. Alan M. Weinberg's now-classic *Shelley's Italian Experience* (1991) is a major point of departure for this book, as is Maria Schoina's more recent study, *Romantic "Anglo-Italians": Configurations of Identity in Byron, the Shelleys, and the Pisan Circle* (2009). Pite 2004 and the essays collected in Curreli - Johnson 1988 and Crisafulli 1998 are equally valuable. For other relevant contributions, including comparative studies of individual poems, see the general bibliography and editorial notes in P.B. Shelley 2018a and P.B. Shelley 2018b.

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works he wrote in Italian at the time of his exile is astonishing. Shelley's Italian writings constitute a richly diversified corpus, which includes original verses, literary and non-literary prose works, translations (mostly self-translations), and private letters. They are the product of a sustained engagement with the foreign language that so far has gone nearly unnoticed, but without which the picture of Shelley's "Italian experience" cannot be complete.

Thirty years ago, the eminent Shelley editor Donald H. Reiman called attention to the need for an informed study of the poet's writings in Italian. Referring in particular to the "drafts and fair copies of Italian poetry" contained in Shelley's working notebooks, Reiman wrote:

> When these are all fully transcribed and indexed, it should be possible for a student of Italian poetry to study all these and, from them and their various contexts, elicit a coherent analysis of Shelley's method and achievement in poetic composition in Italian. [2]

Reiman had previously touched upon the wealth of implications that Shelley's choice of Italian as a language for creative writing had in terms of form, style, literary conventions and traditions as well as in relation to "his individual ideas and states of feeling and the various audiences to whom he wished to express them" [3]. Taking Reiman's observations as my starting point, in this book I conduct a comprehensive analysis of Shelley's verse and prose writings in Italian, which are collected here for the first time in a new, annotated edition based on the original manuscripts. These writings have often been dismissed as eccentricities holding, at best, a biographical interest. On the basis of my analysis, I put forward a revisionary interpretation, highlighting their contribution to the maturing of Shelley's thought and work and arguing that they constitute his attempt to reach an Italian audience and promote his political and artistic views abroad after failing to attract readers at home. The present study reveals a greater and more active interest in Italian political events and literary disputes than is usually attributed to Shelley, opening up new perspectives on his links with the country of his exile and contributing an important chapter to the history of Anglo-Italian cultural relations. Before turning to the corpus and summarising the editorial and critical treatment it has received, in this chapter I reconstruct the different phases of Shelley's engagement with Italian, from his first encounter with Italian literature

[2] *BSM*, VII, 93.
[3] *MYRS*, II, 3.

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in England to his active use of the language for social and professional purposes in Italy. To this end, I draw on private papers, early testimonies of his life, and an archival document heretofore unavailable to scholars.

1.1. Shelley's study of Italian

Discussions of Shelley's study of any foreign language usually begin and end with the words of his cousin and first biographer, Thomas Medwin, introducing his 1847 edition of the lyric "Buona Notte":

> I often asked Shelley if he had never attempted to write like Matthias, in Italian, and he showed me a sort of serenade which I give as a curiosity, – but proving that he had not made a profound study of the language, which, like Spanish, he had acquired without a grammar, – trusting to his fine ear and memory, rather than to rules. [4]

Scholars working on Shelley's Italian self-translations have had occasion to question the validity of Medwin's statement [5]. This has been further undermined by a recently resurfaced manuscript list of books in Shelley's library in Marlow in 1817 now held in the Carl H. Pforzheimer Collection of Shelley and His Circle at the New York Public Library, which includes grammars and dictionaries of Italian and other modern and classical languages. Indeed, Medwin's claim had been rectified as early as 1858 by another biographer of Shelley, his Oxford friend Thomas Jefferson Hogg, who, dismissing Medwin as "a superficial observer", recounted how Shelley and himself had been taught to read Italian, with the aid of "approved grammars and dictionaries", by two female friends, Mrs Boinville and her daughter, Cornelia Turner. Hogg's account is instructive and worth quoting at length:

> During his [Shelley's] protracted residence in London, and the vicinity of London, in the years 1813 and 1814, an auspicious, beneficial, and happy period, we had the good fortune to form a most agreeable intimacy with certain amiable and elegant friends and associates, whose

[4] Medwin 1913, 351. There is no evidence that Shelley knew the Italian verses of the literature scholar and translator Thomas James Mathias (1754-1835).

[5] See, in particular, Palacio 1975, 236, who took Shelley's efforts toward a correct use of verbal forms in his rendering of "Ode to Liberty" as evidence that Medwin's statement was false. E.B. Murray similarly assumed that Shelley had a wordbook at hand as he worked on that translation, implicitly countering Medwin's testimony (*BSM*, XXI, 455).

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> favourite studies were the Italian language and literature […]. By their salutary example, by gentle persuasions, and a soft and benign influence, they called the attention of my friend and myself to a participation in their darling pursuits; […] and our thoughts and our reading soon took the direction pointed out to us by our tasteful guides. I procured a sufficient apparatus of approved grammars and dictionaries, and bestowed much of my leisure upon them; Bysshe, a King in intellect, had always at his command a short and royal road to knowledge. It seemed to a superficial observer, that he rejected and despised the grammar and the dictionary, and all the ordinary aids of a student; this to a certain extent was the case, but to a certain extent only; he was impatient of such tardy methods of progression; nevertheless he sometimes availed himself of them, and when he condescended to be taught, like a mere mortal, which assuredly he was not, his eagle glance, his comprehensive grasp, his inconceivable quickness, and miraculous powers and faculty of apprehension, enabled him to seize and to master in minutes what his less highly gifted fellow-learners acquired in hours, or days, or weeks. [6]

Allowing for an exaggeration on Hogg's part of Shelley's natural linguistic talent, his testimony sounds truthful, as the learning practice he delineated coincides with the method in use at the time, when the popularity of Italian in Britain was at its peak and studying the language was at once a fashionable and a serious endeavour [7]. The two friends concerned themselves exclusively with written Italian, a knowledge of which they acquired by slowly making their way through canonical works of literature, having recourse to the "ordinary" learning aids as much, or as little, as they deemed necessary. This system, modelled on the traditional method of learning classical languages which is still employed today, was the most widespread one among self-taught students of Italian, who were not generally interested in learning it to communicate, and therefore did not bother with such aspects of the spoken language as pronunciation [8]. This had repercussions for Shelley's reaction to the Italian he heard on his arrival in Italy in 1818.

Hogg went on to enumerate his and Shelley's first readings in Italian (which correspond to titles in the Marlow book list). Their "first exploit and invasion of the lovely language of a lovely land" was "the fine poem of Tasso", i.e. the *Gerusalemme liberata* [9]. This is the first work of

[6] Hogg 1858, 376-377.
[7] Brand 1957, 225-228.
[8] Brand 1957, 36-38.
[9] Hogg 1858, 377-378. The Marlow list contains two entries reading "Tasso 2 Vol" (Manuscript lists of books from the library of Percy Bysshe Shelley, leaf 4^{r}).

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Italian literature Shelley is known to have read in the original. As a choice, it is hardly remarkable; as Charles P. Brand observed, the *Gerusalemme liberata* was "one of the best-known of the Italian poems" at the time, when "it was quite customary for the student of Italian, after learning the grammatical essentials, to begin working through Tasso's poem" [10]. They then moved to Ariosto's *Orlando furioso*, which Shelley "eagerly devoured […], returning to it incessantly, and reading it through repeatedly, again and again". Whereas Hogg was already conversant with the poem in translation, to Shelley Ariosto's epic "was a novelty, altogether new in matter and manner, in substance and in language" [11]. At least its title, however, must already have been familiar to him (presumably through his friend), as suggested by the pun contained in his letter to the same of 8 May 1811: "Have you hope, can you have hope, then indeed you are fitted for an Orlando Speroso (if there is such an Italian word)" [12]. Ariosto and Tasso were, after Metastasio, the first poets to whom the Piedmontese expatriate and Italian tutor Giuseppe Baretti – author of a dictionary and a number of manuals which significantly contributed to the dissemination of Italian in Britain in the second half of the eighteenth century – introduced his pupils once he had imparted to them the basic grammar rules [13]. By the time Shelley and Hogg started to learn Italian, Baretti's system had become standard.

While Shelley discovered Italian Renaissance epic, he was also initiated into the lyric poetry of Petrarch [14], who, unlike Tasso and Ariosto, was not among the Italian authors championed by Baretti. As Edoardo Zuccato explains, "Italian lyric poetry was considered effeminate" and Baretti "disliked Petrarch precisely for his effeminacy, whereas he extolled Dante, Ariosto, and Tasso for their manly power and greatness" [15]. But by the end of the eighteenth century, Petrarch's lyrics had regained the favour they had enjoyed in Britain during the Renaissance. Shelley later celebrated them in "A Defence of Poetry" (1821) "as

[10] Brand 1957, 89.

[11] Hogg 1858, 379, 380. According to Hogg, they read it in a six-volume edition, which I have identified as *Orlando furioso, di Ludovico Ariosto* (1813). Keats owned a copy of the same edition (Lau 2016, 149).

[12] *PBSL*, I, 79. There is no such an Italian word. Shelley coined an adjective from the verb "to hope" (*sperare*) to make a pun with "furioso".

[13] Iamartino 1994, 409. On Baretti's role in the Italian revival in eighteenth-century Britain see Marrone 2007, 129-130.

[14] Hogg 1858, 383. One entry in the Marlow list reads "Petrarch" (Manuscript lists of books from the library of Percy Bysshe Shelley, leaf 4[r]).

[15] Zuccato 2008, 25.

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spells, which unseal the inmost enchanted fountains of the delight which is in the grief of Love" [16]. As for Dante, he "did not undertake to seek for a meaning in the abstruse and gloomy sublimity" of the *Divine Comedy* "until a subsequent period" [17]. It appears that he first read the *Inferno* in Henry Francis Cary's bilingual edition (1805-06), which he probably bought while he was staying at Mrs Boinville's in Bracknell in the spring of 1814 [18]. Evidence that he was familiar with the original is provided by the quotations in Italian from Cantos 3 and 4 in a notebook he later gave to Claire Clairmont to use as a journal and in his letter to Hogg of 4 October 1814 [19]. It was only in December 1817, after Mary Shelley, too, had started reading Cary's *Inferno*, that Shelley requested his translation of the other two canticles, included in *The Vision; or, Hell, Purgatory, and Paradise, of Dante Alighieri* (1814) [20]. Shelley's encounter with Dante coincided with the second stage of his introductory course of Italian. After spending the last months of 1813 away from London, he resumed his study with the Boinvilles (but without Hogg) in the spring of 1814, when he also read Cesare Beccaria's *Dei delitti e delle pene* (1764) [21]. Shelley's interest in this work might have been sparked by the quotations in Book 7 of Godwin's *Political Justice* [22]; however, as with the poetry of Tasso, Ariosto, and Petrarch, there is no need to look for a specific reason drawing him to Beccaria's treatise, which was "One of the better-known Italian prose-works in England in the early nineteenth century". At any rate, Shelley found its reputation ill-deserved [23].

The beginning of Shelley's engagement with Italian can thus be safely located between the summer of 1813 (when Hogg's narrative commences) and the following spring, before he left Bracknell and met Mary Godwin. After that period, he continued to study the language by himself, adopting a variety of methods which are reflected by entries in the Marlow book list. The first title that catches the eye is Baretti's *Easy*

[16] Brand 1957, 93; *SPP*, 525.
[17] Hogg 1858, 380.
[18] Medwin 1913, 244; *SC*, V, 343, n. 3. Cf. Manuscript lists of books from the library of Percy Bysshe Shelley, leaves 9^{r}, 10^{r}.
[19] *CCJ*, 61-62; *PBSL*, I, 402.
[20] *MWSJ*, 183; *PBSL*, I, 575, 586. An item in a list of titles on Bodleian MS. Shelley adds. e. 14, p. 38 reading "Dantes Inferno Purgat & Paradiso by Cary" looks like a memorandum relating to this order.
[21] *PBSL*, I, 384. Cf. Manuscript lists of books from the library of Percy Bysshe Shelley, leaf 1^{r}.
[22] Godwin 1798^{3}, 344, 348, 353. This is the edition Shelley used for his Notes to *Queen Mab* (1813).
[23] Brand 1957, 128; *PBSL*, I, 384.

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Phraseology, for the Use of Young Ladies, Who Intend to Learn the Colloquial Part of the Italian Language (1775) [24]. As the term "phraseology", a synonym for "phrase book" (*OED* 2), indicates, this is a collection of phrases and idiomatic expressions, which are presented in the form of dialogues between Baretti himself and his pupil, Esteruccia (Hester Thrale's daughter), to be perused after having acquired the basics of Italian grammar. Contrary to standard practice, the author even marked the tonic accent of some words to teach their correct pronunciation. Such a book would have been of little help to the occasional reader of Italian literature, as its declared aim was to teach everyday contemporary Italian, the "language of the tongue" as opposed to the language "of the pen" [25]. It is tempting to suppose that it was purchased in view of the Shelleys' emigration to Italy, which was first talked about in the summer of 1817 [26]. Shelley may not have read the book himself, of course. It was certainly used by Claire Clairmont, who recorded learning "an Italian Dialogue" on 17, 18, 19, 20, and 24 January 1818 [27]. The specification "for the use of young ladies", however, does not mean that the interest in this work was restricted to women. Rather, it identifies the book as belonging to a specific genre of manuals which promised to make traditionally difficult subjects (such as grammar) accessible in a simple and pleasant way, and were destined to beginners of either sex, both young and old [28].

Additional learning aids of which Shelley availed himself were Italian translations of literary works he already knew in the original. This sort of reading is not much different from today's practice of watching films in the original after seeing a dubbed version: both strategies are based on the assumption that the student, already knowing the story, will focus on the language. In 1815, Shelley read two volumes of an Italian edition of Plutarch's *Lives* he had acquired in October of the previous year, but he was familiar with Plutarch's oeuvre since at least 1813 [29]. His library in Marlow also contained a two-volume edition of Bernardo Davanzati's *volgarizzamento* of Tacitus, whose *Histories* Shel-

[24] Manuscript lists of books from the library of Percy Bysshe Shelley, leaf 2^{r}.

[25] Baretti 1775, iii. The author of the Preface was Samuel Johnson (Iamartino 1994, 388).

[26] *PBSL*, I, 547, 556.

[27] *SC*, V, 451; *CCJ*, 79-81.

[28] Sanson 2016, 449-450.

[29] *MWSJ*, 92, 37; *CPPBS*, II, 668-669. Shelley's edition is likely to have been *Le vite di Plutarco volgarizzate da Girolamo Pompei gentiluomo veronese* (1772), which went through many reprints. Cf. Manuscript lists of books from the library of Percy Bysshe Shelley, leaf 12^{r}.

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ley had read with Mary Godwin in Switzerland as early as 24 August 1814 [30]. Davanzati's translation, rendered into Florentine speech (the language of the *Divine Comedy*), is a remarkable achievement, for he attained a conciseness not inferior to Tacitus' own, which may have appealed to the student of literary Italian [31]. These texts complemented Shelley's reading of Italian literature, testified by a wealth of library catalogues, book orders, and reading lists scattered among his and Mary's papers. A small portion of the works he read were parallel-text editions, such as Cary's *Inferno*, in which the perusal of the original was facilitated by the facing English translation. Shelley probably also read Tasso's *Aminta* in a bilingual edition in 1815 [32]. Normally, however, he used original editions. Beside the titles that have been mentioned above, the Marlow list includes Ugo Foscolo's *Ultime lettere di Jacopo Ortis*, an unspecified comedy by the eighteenth-century playwright Giuseppe Gorini Corio, one volume of the *Parnaso italiano*, i.e. *Redi, Soldani, Rosa, Menzini, ditirambici e satirici del secolo XVII*, possibly belonging to Leigh Hunt's complete set, Guicciardini's *Istoria d'Italia*, *L'Adone* by the baroque poet Gianbattista Marino (requested with some urgency from a bookseller in November 1815), and three tomes of a 250-volume anthology of Italian classical works, *Edizione delle opere classiche italiane* [33]. Shelley's reading list for 1815 further includes Giovan Battista Guarini's *Pastor fido*, in addition to the *Orlando furioso*, *Gerusalemme liberata*, and *Aminta*; he read Tasso again in October of the following year [34].

Like countless travellers before and after him, as soon as he set foot in Italy in March 1818 Shelley realised that such extensive reading at home had not prepared him for understanding (let alone speaking) the language abroad. His encounter with contemporary Italian, which took place in the first town on the southern side of the Alps, is narrated in a letter to Thomas Love Peacock:

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[30] Manuscript lists of books from the library of Percy Bysshe Shelley, leaf 7^{r}; *MWSJ*, 19. Tacitus' account of the siege of Jerusalem informs the beginning of Shelley's unfinished "Romance", "The Assassins", which he began the following day (*MWSJ*, 19).

[31] *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, s.v. *Davanzati, Bernardo*.

[32] *MWSJ*, 92; Manuscript lists of books from the library of Percy Bysshe Shelley, leaf 8^{r}.

[33] Manuscript lists of books from the library of Percy Bysshe Shelley, leaves 1^{r}, 3^{r}, 6^{r}, 8^{r}. Hunt had bought the 56 volumes of the *Parnaso italiano* (1784-91) while in prison (Hunt 1850, 148-149). For Shelley's order of *L'Adone* see *PBSL*, I, 435.

[34] *MWSJ*, 92, 139. For the *Pastor Fido* cf. Manuscript lists of books from the library of Percy Bysshe Shelley, leaf 3^{r}.

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> With what delight did I hear the woman who conducted us to see the triumphal arch of Augustus at Susa speaking the clear & complete language of Italy, tho' half unintelligible to me, after that nasal & abbreviated cacophany of the French! [35]

Shelley's comment, though brief, is interesting on a number of levels. First, his comparison between the sound of Italian and French combines a claim based on empirical evidence with the linguistic stereotypes that were part of the common stock of clichés of travellers in Europe. Italian can be objectively described as "clear" when compared with French, for it lacks the nasal vowels characteristic of the latter language (all vowels in Italian are oral); it is also "complete" inasmuch as all the letters of a word, including the final letter, are pronounced, as opposed to the "abbreviated" pronunciation of the words in French (and, one may add, in English as well) [36]. However, the act of contrasting one language with another was in itself stereotypical. Linguistic observations of this kind abounded in travel literature about Europe and in some cases became almost proverbial, reflecting the travellers' habit of judging, comparing, classifying, and ranking the spoken languages with which they came in contact [37]. Shelley did not deviate from the norm and his judgement of the phonic characteristics of the French and Italian languages is hardly original. To him French was a "cacophany" (the possibly not unintentional misspelling reinforcing the meaning of the word), that is harsh and discordant (*OED*), which implies that Italian was the opposite, i.e. soft and harmonious. These were the qualities most often associated with the language by foreign writers, such as Byron in the following famous lines from *Beppo* (1818):

> I love the language, that soft bastard Latin,
> Which melts like kisses from a female mouth,
> And sounds as if it should be writ on satin,
> With syllables which breathe of the sweet South,

[35] *PBSL*, II, 4.

[36] Vittorio Alfieri expressed a similar opinion in a famous epigram that also appeared in the first issue of *The Liberal*, followed by an imitation and answer by Leigh Hunt (*The Liberal: Verse and Prose from the South* 1, 1 [1822], 163-164): "*Capitano* è parola / Sonante, intera, e nell'Italia nata; / *Capitèn*, già sconsola, / Nasalmente dai Galli smozzicata; / *Keptn* poi dentro gola / De' Britanni aspri sen sta straspolpata" ("*Capitano* is a resonant word, full, and born in Italy; *Capitèn* is already dispirited, nasally slurred by the Gauls; *Keptn*, then, in the harsh Britons' throat lies unfleshed").

[37] For a survey of the comments on the Italian language made by European and American travellers from the sixteenth to the twentieth century see Stammerjohann 2013.

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And gentle liquids gliding all so pat in,
That not a single accent seems uncouth. (345-350)

The fact that the language emerging from Shelley's juxtaposition as the better of the two was spoken by "a *blonde* woman of light & graceful manners" [38], as he was keen to specify, also shows his adherence (at least initially) to the same "gendered aesthetic" as emerges from Byron's lines, which was common among Grand Tourists and early nineteenth-century male travellers [39]. Shelley's linguistic observation turns personal and subjective only where it registers the narrator's confrontation with the unexpected. Significantly, this remark is made parenthetically. He mentioned that the woman's language at Susa had proved "half unintelligible" to him, but he did so in passing, as if to minimise the import of his confession, thus betraying his feeling of shame: his first impression of spoken Italian had been one of utter confusion [40].

Shelley reacted to the linguistic shock by seeking refuge, as it were, in the Italian he knew he could understand, that is the literary idiom, which he described in "A Defence of Poetry" as "a language in itself music and persuasion", created by Dante "out of a chaos of inharmonious barbarisms" [41]. Indeed, after reaching Milan, Shelley resumed his study of Italian reading Dante's *Purgatorio* and *Paradiso* inside the Cathedral, presumably because, as he wrote to Peacock, its interior had "the aspect of some gorgeous sepulchre" [42]. Shelley's interest in these two canticles was highly unusual for the period, as the Romantic enthusiasm for Dante was restricted to the *Inferno* and, in general, his popularity was quite recent (not only among British readers), for it was not until the end of the eighteenth century that he rose to the highest position in the Italian literary canon he has since occupied [43]. In the first months of his Italian exile, Shelley also planned to write a tragedy on Tasso, in preparation for which he read Pierantonio Serassi's and Giambattista Manso's biographies of the poet (1785 and 1621) and reread *Aminta* with Mary Shelley [44]. In Bagni di

[38] *PBSL*, II, 4 (emphasis original).
[39] Webb 2011, 214.
[40] Samuel Taylor Coleridge had a similar experience in Sicily in 1804 (Zuccato 1996, 227).
[41] *SPP*, 528.
[42] *PBSL*, II, 8; *MWSJ*, 205-206.
[43] On the resurgence of Dante between the eighteenth and nineteenth century see Dionisotti 1966 and, in the British context, Brand 1957, 49-72.
[44] *MWSJ*, 203, 209. Shelley's tragedy on Tasso (which was never completed) was first mentioned in his letter to Peacock of 20 April 1818 (*PBSL*, II, 8).

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Lucca in the summer of 1818 he reread Ariosto's *Orlando furioso*, again with her, and the following year he discovered Boccaccio's *Decameron* [45].

In explaining his choice of books to his former learning companion, Hogg, Shelley sounds unaware of the discrepancy between the means and the end: "I have also made some Italian book my companion from my desire to learn the language, so as to speak it" [46]. The limits of this practice would be apparent even if it were applied to the study of English, or French, in which spoken and written language have always represented two varieties of one and the same tongue evolving in parallel. But Shelley's resolution sounds especially unfeasible with reference to early nineteenth-century Italian. Even more than his reaction to the woman's speech at Susa, this statement reveals that on his arrival in Italy he was oblivious to the breach between written, literary Italian and the contemporary oral language, which was the direct consequence of the sixteenth-century solution to the so-called *questione della lingua*, i.e. the issue (dating back to Dante's treatise *De vulgari eloquentia* and recently revived by Vincenzo Monti) about the linguistic standard to adopt in Italy that was still being debated in the aftermath of the country's unification in the mid-nineteenth century [47]. The first Italian grammarians of the sixteenth century derived their rules from the works of Dante and the fourteenth-century Tuscan writers (especially Petrarch and Boccaccio), so that the standard literary language was since identified with the Tuscan idiom of the *trecentisti*. By the time of Shelley's residence in Italy, literary Italian did not correspond to the language commonly spoken in any part of the peninsula, including Tuscany [48]. This is a key reason for which the travellers who, like Shelley, had learned Italian chiefly by reading its literature invariably struggled with the spoken language; Mary Shel-

[45] *PBSL*, II, 21, 121-122.

[46] *PBSL*, II, 15.

[47] On the origin of this dispute see Mongiat Farina 2014. On Monti and the *questione della lingua* in the early nineteenth century see Serianni 1989a, 39-55.

[48] Until recently, the linguistic situation in pre-unification Italy was thought to be one of diglossia, in which the national language, restricted to formal, written uses, existed alongside the local dialects, used in everyday communication (Sobrero 1997, 412-413). New research has evinced, instead, that a large proportion of speakers – including members of the lower, uneducated classes – were actually bilingual and could move along a spectrum from their local dialect to an oral Italian modelled on the literary language, but by no means unitary, as it retained more or less pronounced regional features, which was used instead of the dialect whenever the situation thus required, for instance when addressing foreigners. As Baretti's case exemplifies, oral Italian was also taught, and used, by Italians abroad (Serianni 1997). See also Colombo - Kinder 2012.

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ley recorded that the same happened a few years later to Hunt [49]. As the following chapters show, Shelley's Italian writings reflect the dichotomy between oral and written language that characterised the sociolinguistic situation of pre-unification Italy, since they contain both literary variants and regional features.

For nearly two years after their emigration, the Shelleys acted more like tourists in Italy, criss-crossing it to visit popular destinations and attractions and, with the partial exception of their stay in Rome in the spring of 1819, having as little intercourse with locals as possible. Eventually, at the beginning of 1820, they settled in Pisa, where they stably resided for the next two years, spending the warm months in nearby Bagni di Pisa (today San Giuliano Terme) and, fatally, in 1822, in San Terenzo in the Bay of Lerici. Richard Holmes has perceptively observed that "Pisa became the nearest thing Shelley ever had to a home anywhere since leaving Field Place" [50]; by the end of 1820, the poet had also become the centre of a multicultural, multilingual social and literary network there. Unlikely as it may sound, many of Shelley's acquaintances in Pisa were academics, whom he presumably met through the Irish expatriate Mrs Mason (Lady Mountcashell) and her friend Dr Andrea Vaccà Berlinghieri, a renowned physician and professor of clinical surgery at the local university [51]. Among these acquaintances were the writer, printer, and publisher Giovanni Rosini, who brought to press Shelley's *Adonais* in 1821 [52], and the scientist and Dante scholar Francesco Pacchiani, who introduced Shelley to the *improvvisatore* Tommaso Sgricci and Teresa Viviani, the dedicatee of *Epipsychidion* (1821) [53]. Mary Shelley's journal and letters of the period reveal that Shelley's conversations with them were held in Italian, which, until then, he had employed essentially as a language for reading, and now became his principal means of communication in society. Switching from a passive to an active use of Italian acted as a stimulus for adopting it for professional purposes as well, i.e. for writing poetry and prose. In fact, Shelley's self-translations and original foreign-language compositions

[49] *MWSL*, 335.

[50] R. Holmes 1987 (1974), 575. Field Place was Shelley's family home in West Sussex.

[51] Barsanti 1993, 412. On Mrs Mason (born Margaret King) see McAleer 1958 and Curreli 1997.

[52] For Rosini's long, and now almost forgotten, literary career see Cordié 1981. For his activity as a printer and publisher see Pertici 1985 and Pertici 1997.

[53] On Francesco Pacchiani see Nicastro 1920; 1921. On Tommaso Sgricci and Teresa Viviani see below, Chapters 2 and 4, respectively.

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date exactly from the Pisan period, as if he had to loosen his tongue before he could loosen his pen in Italian.

1.2. "Italian platonics"? Redressing the received view of Shelley's Italian writings

No evidence exists that any of Shelley's writings in Italian were published in his lifetime, and the rough, unfinished state of many of them points strongly against this possibility. Mary Shelley omitted them from her posthumous editions of her husband's works and never alluded to their existence, although she had transcribed one original verse fragment in *terza rima* after Shelley's death. Possibly, she recognised that they were linguistically defective and deemed them unworthy of publication. Medwin seems to have thought otherwise. It was he who offered the first glimpse of Shelley's endeavours in Italian by including a version of "Buona Notte" (No. 13) in his novel *The Angler in Wales* (1834) and then reprinting it, with minimal adjustments, in his 1847 biography of the poet [54]. The text published by Medwin, which presumably derives from a lost holograph fair copy, served as the basis for William Michael Rossetti's 1870 edition of the lyric, later included in the Oxford Standard Authors edition (the standard edition of Shelley's poetry through the twentieth century) and the Julian edition, to this day the only collected edition of Shelley's poetry, prose, and letters. Meanwhile, the version of "Buona Notte" Shelley had sent to Hunt for possible publication appeared with the accompanying letter in Thomas J. Wise's *Letters from Percy Bysshe Shelley to J.H. Leigh Hunt* (1894) and in all subsequent editions of Shelley's correspondence, including the Julian, which thus contains two versions of the poem.

After "Buona Notte", the second piece of writing in Italian to be brought to light was the prose fable entitled "Una Favola" (No. 15), edited by Richard Garnett from the holograph fair copy in 1862, which was followed by the self-translation of the first two lines of *Epipsychidion* (No. 6), included in Harry Buxton Forman's 1887 facsimile edition of "The Mask of Anarchy". To Forman we also owe the publication of the draft of "Una Favola", appended to his pioneering edition of three of Shelley's working notebooks (now at the Huntington Library) in 1911.

[54] Details of publication for all texts are provided in the edition at the back of this book, to which the identification numbers in parentheses refer.

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In the same year, Helen Rossetti Angeli reproduced Sophia Stacey's copy of Shelley's letter to Marianna Candidi Dionigi (No. 1) in *Shelley and His Friends in Italy*. A partial transcription of a holograph *terza rima* fragment (No. 14, Fragment B) appeared in Roger Ingpen's *Shelley in England* in 1917; this was extremely inaccurate, but was nonetheless reprinted in the Julian edition. In 1922, André Koszul published heavily corrected transcripts of two renderings from *Prometheus Unbound* and one from *The Revolt of Islam* (Nos. 9, 10, and 11). The fair-copied first stanza of "Ode alla Libertà" (No. 12), the Italian version of "Ode to Liberty", was issued in an appendix to Neville Rogers's *Shelley at Work* (1956), while the rest of the self-translation was published in 1975 by Jean de Palacio, who collated draft and fair copy. Rogers's appendix also contained a garbled transcript of three fragmentary drafts of letters to Teresa Viviani (No. 2, Fragments A, C, and D) and a rendering from Chaucer's "The Knight's Tale" (No. 3), which he mistook for the fragment of a letter. Frederick L. Jones's 1964 edition of Shelley's correspondence included Teresa Guiccioli's transcription of the poet's second letter to her (No. 17) from her unpublished *Vie de Lord Byron en Italie* (now available in a facsimile edition and an English translation). Jones did not have access to the holograph of either that letter or the previous one (No. 16), both of which were acquired by the Pforzheimer Collection in 1971; a diplomatic edition will be made available in the forthcoming last set of *SC*. Finally, Shelley's review of Sgricci's tragedy *Ettore* (No. 4) was first mentioned by Rossetti in 1870 [55], but it was published only in 1981.

One more letter draft fragment (No. 2, Fragment B), the self-translations of lines 3-4 of *Epipsychidion* (No. 5), the opening of "To S[idmouth] and C[astlereagh]" (No. 7), and a third passage from *Prometheus Unbound* (No. 8), a revised fair copy of "Buona Notte", and the verse fragment transcribed by Mary Shelley (No. 14, Fragment A) remained unknown until their facsimile publication in *The Bodleian Shelley Manuscripts* (1986-2002), an edition of all Shelley's notebooks and papers (other than letters) held at the Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford. This edition is complemented by *The Manuscripts of the Younger Romantics: Percy Bysshe Shelley* (1985-97), which includes most of the poet's manuscript works held in other European and American libraries. Both editions contain photographic reproductions of the originals, which digital technologies have rendered largely obsolete, usually accompanied by diplomatic transcriptions, the accuracy of which varies

[55] P.B. Shelley 1870, I, cxxx, n.

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considerably, particularly with regard to the Italian writings, as the editors of each volume had unequal competence in the language and adopted slightly different approaches to the texts. These limitations have affected the modern scholarly editions of Shelley's poetry and prose in Italian included in the fourth volume of the Longman Annotated English Poets edition (2014) and the Meridiani Mondadori editions (2018). I take the opportunity here to acknowledge my previous work on Shelley's Italian writings for the latter publications and my unfortunate over-reliance on existing interpretations of some of them. The fresh examination of the manuscripts I have conducted for this book not only has resulted in a more accurate edition but has also led me to revise substantially my dating and interpretation of the texts.

Two issues result from the editorial history I have briefly outlined. The first pertains to the language of Shelley's writings in Italian. Their exclusion from Mary Shelley's editions is especially regrettable in this respect, as her Italian was fluent and she would have been able to transcribe them accurately, doing justice to Shelley's command of the language. Virtually all major Shelley editors in the English-speaking world have confronted the poet's Italian, but few had even a working knowledge of the language and they all seem to have lacked awareness of the peculiar sociolinguistic situation that Shelley found on his arrival in Italy. Consequently, they have often corrected his spelling and grammar in places where he made no actual mistakes but his diction did not conform to the rules of present-day Italian, a language which differs more from early nineteenth-century Italian than contemporary English does from the English spoken and written in Shelley's time. Scholars have also been prone to accept unquestioningly Medwin's claim that Shelley had learned Italian "without a grammar, – trusting to his fine ear and memory, rather than to rules". According to Koszul, for instance, Medwin's statement is the only commentary that Shelley's Italian self-translations require; Rogers likewise quoted it on "the subject of his Italian" [56]. By invoking Medwin's authority, editors have both implicitly justified their interventions and undervalued Shelley's achievement as a student of Italian as well as a writer and translator in that language.

The second problem is that the poet's Italian writings have been presented as eccentricities ever since Medwin decided to give "Buona Notte" "as a curiosity". Later editors have usually relegated them to an appendix; until recently, it was also impossible to read most of them

[56] Koszul 1922, 477; Rogers 1956, 341.

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either next to one another or alongside Shelley's works in English. As in the editorial history, so in the critical tradition the prevailing attitude toward his Italian corpus has been to consider each item separately, or, in the case of his self-translations, group them together without distinction. This tendency to de-contextualise these writings both from the rest of their corpus and from Shelley's oeuvre at large has had repercussions on their interpretation. Adopting a purely biographical approach, most commentators have placed Shelley's works in Italian in relation to his infatuation with Teresa "Emilia" Viviani. This idea seems to have originated in the recollections of an elderly Edward John Trelawny in conversation with William Michael Rossetti:

> Trelawny says positively that *Epipsychidion* was printed in Italy, in a version of Italian poetry written by Shelley himself for Emilia (Viviani) to read. I think he says that he himself saw it: scarcely gather whether or not he implies that there was both the Italian and English (suppose so), but he is very decided as to the Italian. [57]

Trelawny, who was close to Shelley in the last months of his life, may have seen some of his writings in Italian, but his claim that Shelley produced an Italian version of *Epipsychidion*, and had it printed in Italy, is unsupported by any evidence, and Rossetti himself suspected "some treachery in his recollection". Nevertheless, Locock referred to it in respect of the self-translation from *Epipsychidion* in the manuscript of "The Mask of Anarchy", which he described as "the commencement of a *terza rima* translation designed for Emilia's benefit" [58]. It was Koszul, however, who first elaborated on Trelawny's statement and suggested that Shelley had translated his poetry into Italian to tell the story of his life to Teresa Viviani, noting in particular that the autobiographical elements of the rendering from *The Revolt of Islam* could have made it appear as a confession to her [59]. Palacio subscribed to Koszul's view, while Rogers argued on the same lines that Shelley's self-translations were meant to instruct Teresa Viviani in his philosophical credo [60]. The poet's original verse and prose compositions in Italian have also been interpreted as destined for, or inspired by, the young girl. According to Reiman, Shelley

[57] Rossetti 1977, 169.
[58] P.B. Shelley 1911b, 453.
[59] Koszul 1922, 472.
[60] Palacio 1975, 224; Rogers 1956, 242. For analogous claims made by later commentators see Webb 1976, 307; *BSM*, IV, Part II, 363-364, 366; *BSM*, VI, 58; P.B. Shelley 1995, 1806; *BSM*, XVIII, xlvi; *PS*, IV, 13.

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intended his *terza rima* verses as "a farewell poem" for her, whereas Mary A. Quinn read "Una Favola" as an allegorical recasting of his infatuation and even claimed that Teresa Viviani had assisted him in drafting it [61]. The received view of Shelley's Italian writings is summarised by Antonella Braida, who maintains that his "close collaboration with Teresa Viviani confirms that for Shelley Italian was […] a language to be used in Dantean terms as the language of love" [62]. These observations show that Shelley's works in Italian have been reduced to a by-product of his "Italian platonics" [63], as Mary Shelley caustically dismissed her husband's involvement with Teresa Viviani. Indeed, Mary Shelley's reticence about the entire corpus has been seen as a corroboration of such reading. To quote Rossetti again, "Mrs. Shelley, as [Trelawny] says, avoided writing anything about the Italian version [of *Epipsychidion*]: and in fact (as I reminded him) preserved equal silence with regard to the English poem itself" [64]. Despite the scholarly consensus, this biographical reading unsatisfactorily accounts for the variety and complexity of Shelley's Italian writings and provides a simplistic explanation of his uncommon self-translation practice and even more unusual decision to compose original poetry and prose in a foreign language.

The editors who most closely engaged with Shelley's writings in Italian in recent years have put forward an alternative interpretation of some of them. In particular, Michael Rossington has suggested that Shelley's adoption of an Italian voice in the Sgricci review may have been "a means of authenticating [his] commitment" to the cause of the Neapolitan constitutionalists and that, like "Ode alla Libertà", the review may have been destined for "a Florentine newspaper". Francesco Rognoni has concurred with this hypothesis, arguing that the self-translation may well have appeared in Italy after being polished by a native speaker [65]. My study takes these suggestions further, also building upon Timothy Webb's pioneering work on Shelley and translation in *The Violet in the Crucible*, which not only inaugurated the current interest in that part of the poet's production, but insightfully situated his translational activity within the broader context of his engagement with modern European languages and literatures (especially German, Spanish, and Italian).

[61] *BSM*, VII, 92; *MYRS*, VI, l-li.
[62] Braida 2004, 127.
[63] *MWSL*, 223.
[64] Rossetti 1977, 169.
[65] Rossington 2007, 240, 241; Rognoni 2019, 119-120.

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My reassessment of Shelley's Italian writings started from an independent examination of the textual and material evidence, i.e. the extant manuscripts. Given the disparate approaches adopted in the available editions, and their often poor quality, I found it necessary to go back to the originals and edit them afresh for this book. Ideally, readers should refer to the edition as they progress through the next chapters, which roughly follow the order in which the texts are presented. Chapter 2 is devoted to the so-called "Sgricci review". Shelley never was a literary reviewer (a figure he came to abhor and publicly condemned in *Adonais*), and his few reviews in English are of books written by friends – Hogg's novel *Memoirs of Prince Alexy Haimatoff* (1813) and Peacock's poem *Rhododaphne* (1818) – and family members – Godwin's *Mandeville* (1817) and Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* (1818). In this respect, the Sgricci review is no different, since the *improvvisatore* was a member of Shelley's circle in Pisa. The influence of Tommaso Sgricci's art on the development of Shelley's view of poetry and inspiration cannot be overemphasised: his Italian review is the germ of the theoretical reflection contained in "A Defence of Poetry". As well as highlighting the correspondences between these two works, the chapter reconstructs the cultural context of the review, comparing it to contemporary travellers' accounts of the *improvvisatori* and situating it within the Italian literary debate over the eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century vogue for extempore poetry, which Shelley exploited to further his political and artistic ideals.

Shelley's encounter with Sgricci also prompted him to try his hand at writing in Italian. His earliest self-translations have the appearance of improvisations, and he himself defined "Buona Notte" as an "Italian impromptu" [66]. Shelley's self-translational activity is the subject of Chapter 3. First, I analyse the language of his renderings to assess his command of written Italian. I then adopt an innovative methodology that combines translation studies with manuscript studies to pin down his approach to translation; the study of draft renderings and comparison between successive manuscript versions (draft and fair copy) of a translation provide, in fact, unique insights into the translator's technique. Finally, I argue on the basis of manuscript evidence that while Shelley's extant self-translations are preparatory texts not yet suitable for publication, publication was nonetheless his likely objective, as he may have sought to profit from the dispute between Italian Classicists and Romantics, and, particularly, the latter's interest in contemporary European literature, to attract readers abroad.

[66] Pforzheimer MS. PBS 0074, p. 1.

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The "Knight's Tale" translation and "Buona Notte" are discussed separately in Chapter 4 as the sole extant examples of poetry translation into Italian in Shelley's oeuvre. As in the previous chapter, I conduct a theoretically-informed, evidence-based analysis of both renderings, drawing attention to the creative aspect of Shelley's translational activity, which is best exemplified by "Buona Notte". Shelley approached translation as a form of creation, which enabled him to explore some of the themes central to his poetry in light of a different literary tradition. At the end of the chapter, I relate his practice to his theory of translation, which I reconstruct from his scattered remarks on the subject, showing that it is in line with contemporary discourses on translation.

Chapter 5 considers Shelley's original literary compositions in Italian, namely his fragments in *terza rima* and "Una Favola". I offer an alternative interpretation to the predominant biographical reading of these texts that foregrounds their analogies with Shelley's works in English and intertextuality with early Italian poetry, i.e. the poetry of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, before Petrarch, which he absorbed through translation. In a period when Italian literature, from Dante's epic to the mock-heroic verse of Luigi Pulci, had a pervasive influence on English poetry, Shelley went one step further than his Italophile contemporaries by engaging with Italy's literary tradition directly in Italian. His *terza rima* verses and prose fable display a poetic open-mindedness and adventurousness that no other Romantic writer possessed; at the same time, the memory of these experiments contributed to the creation of his most Italianate poem, "The Triumph of Life".

Finally, in line with recent research on Shelley's correspondence in English [67], in Chapter 6 I analyse his surviving letters and letter draft fragments in Italian, considering both their textual and their material aspects. The language of these letters reflects Shelley's secure command of different registers of ordinary, non-literary Italian and his adherence to contemporary epistolary conventions, but they also complement his literary endeavours in Italian in unexpected ways. In particular, his two letters to Teresa Guiccioli seem to have elicited a reflection on his experience as a writer in a foreign tongue, which effectively sums up his contradictory view of language.

The study of Shelley's writings in Italian significantly adds to our understanding of his experience of Italy. They evince his desire to contribute to the local literary debate, find an audience abroad after failing

[67] See, in particular, Webb 2015a and O'Neill 2020.

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to achieve fame in Britain, and carve his name in the history of Italian literature. In this, Shelley was not unique; his foreign language compositions situate him in a long-standing tradition of non-native authors who wrote poetry and prose in Italian. To conclude this introductory chapter, I consider for the first time Shelley's Italian writings from the broader perspective of this tradition, foregrounding analogies and correspondences with his precursors and successors to show the exemplariness of his long-overlooked case.

1.3. Shelley and the literary tradition of foreign writers in Italian

The phenomenon of foreign authors writing in Italian has characterised the history of Italian language and literature and, more generally, the cultural relations between Italy and other countries since the sixteenth century [68]. However, apart from passing references, scholars overlooked this phenomenon until the second half of the twentieth century [69]. The first attempt to recover it from oblivion was Emilio Bodrero's *Poesie e prose in italiano di scrittori stranieri*, a little-known anthology of verse and prose works in Italian written by foreigners (including Shelley's "Buona Notte"), provokingly presented as "the worst poems of the greatest poets". Bodrero noted that although most of the texts he collected show flaws in the grammar, which are only partially attributable to foreign printers, they nonetheless bear the mark of their authors' originality and cast new light on their genius [70]. More recently, Furio Brugnolo has devoted a number of studies to the tradition of Italian literature by non-native writers, or *letteratura italiana fuori d'Italia* ("Italian literature outside Italy"), which is now acknowledged as part of Italian literary history [71]. Like Bodrero, Brugnolo underlines the importance of each author's works in Italian in relation to the rest of their oeuvre, but he also identifies common motivations and recurrent features by virtue of which these individual experiences, often geographically and chronologically distant, can be regarded as a unified tradition [72]. The canon of foreign writers in Italian ranges from the troubadour Raimbaut de Vaqueiras

[68] Brugnolo 2009, 10-11.
[69] See, most notably, the critical remarks in Da Ponte 2013, 38-41.
[70] Bodrero 1958, 11, 14.
[71] See Formisano 2002.
[72] Brugnolo 2009, 11-12.

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to the contemporary Brazilian poet Murilo Mendes and includes some of the greatest names in Western literature. In situating Shelley within this tradition, I confine myself to comparing him to its most illustrious English-speaking representatives.

Paraphrasing the opening of the Italian section of Michel de Montaigne's *Journal de voyage*, Brugnolo identifies the wish to experiment with the language (or, in Montaigne's terms, *assaggiare*, "to essay" it) as the fundamental impulse of all foreign writers in Italian [73]. For many, this means experimenting with the hyper-codified literary language, particularly the language of poetry [74]. Such was the case with John Milton, whose love lyrics in Italian (five sonnets and one stanza of a canzone) are arguably the greatest product of the tradition of "Italian literature outside Italy" and may also have served as Shelley's unacknowledged model, as they were included in Milton's first poetry collection, and it is improbable that he did not know them [75]. Unlike Shelley's, Milton's choice of language was not dictated by external circumstances. He did not write in Italian as a result of a protracted, direct experience of Italy or close contact with Italians; indeed, his Italian poems even seem to predate his tour of Italy of 1638-39 [76]. Rather, it was the genre of these experiments, a belated example of European Renaissance Petrarchism, that dictated his use of Italian. As for Shelley, however, so for Milton writing in Italian became the occasion for a metapoetic reflection. His code-switching is repeatedly thematised in the small *canzoniere*, which narrates a fictional encounter with an Italian woman that caused the poet to abandon his language for hers. This encounter symbolises Milton's engagement with, and eventual overcoming of, love poetry, of which Italian was the choice language ever since Petrarch [77].

Whereas most foreign authors typically explore the forms and conventions of Italian poetry, few write prose in Italian other than private letters. Even rarer are the works of non-native writers addressed to an Italian audience [78]. Shelley's theatrical review of the *improvvisatore* Sgricci

[73] Brugnolo 2009, 25. For Montaigne's travelogue in Italian see Montaigne 1983, 460-500.

[74] Brugnolo 1997, 317-318.

[75] Milton's poems in Italian appeared in *Poems of Mr. John Milton, both English and Latin* (1645), grouped together within the section of the "Sonnets" (in English). They maintained the same position in the 1673 expanded edition, *Poems, &c. upon Several Occasions*.

[76] Melchionda 2002, 97-98.

[77] Melchionda 2002, 99-100.

[78] Brugnolo 1997, 329-330.

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thus stands out as a doubly exceptional case, which may be regarded as a forerunner of the essays and journalistic writings in Italian of another famous exile, James Joyce. The similarities between the two authors' modes of engagement with the language are, indeed, numerous. Like Shelley, Joyce had first-hand experience of Italian, which he acquired during his decade-long residence in Trieste (then part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire), but his acquaintance with the language predated his emigration, as he had studied it in Dublin in order to read Dante. So, for Joyce, Italian was both a literary and a living language, whom he even adopted as family idiom (his children, Giorgio and Lucia, spoke Italian like natives and he continued to use Italian and the Trieste dialect with them after leaving the city) [79]. Moreover, as mentioned above, in the years he spent in Trieste he wrote a number of articles for a local newspaper [80]. Later in life, he also engaged in the practice of self-translation into Italian, although, unlike Shelley, he benefited from the assistance of a native speaker, with whom he rendered two passages from a chapter of *Finnegans Wake*, which he published in an Italian magazine to make the work known to the Italian reading public [81]. Joyce demonstrated an unequalled command of different linguistic registers and varieties, but, leaving aside the results, the trajectory and underlying aims of his works in Italian are reminiscent of Shelley's endeavours and reveal an unexpected connection between these two writers.

Creative practice in Italian similarly links Shelley to Ezra Pound. I am thinking, in particular, of Pound's Cantos 72 and 73, written in Italian in the winter 1944-45, when he was living in Rapallo, near Genoa. Pound's choice of Italian for these Cantos depends at least in part on his desire "to convey an immediate political and poetic message to Italian readers" [82], i.e. show his support for the Fascist cause and RSI (Repubblica Sociale Italiana, Mussolini's puppet state in Nazi-occupied Northern Italy) and commemorate the late Futurist poet Filippo Tommaso Marinetti. However, in Pound Fascist propaganda goes hand in hand with literary experimentation. Both Cantos reproduce the dialogical structure of the *Divine Comedy*, which also influenced his metrical and lexical choices. Rather than a mere imitation, the result is a modernisation of Dante's language and style, which Pound effectively

[79] Zanotti 1999, 17-19.

[80] For an overview of Joyce's writings in Italian see Melchiori 1979.

[81] Zanotti 2002, 278-279. The self-translations are included in Joyce 1979, 216-233.

[82] Bacigalupo 1991, 21. The two Cantos can be read in Pound 1985, 825-835.

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adapted to express his Fascist faith [83]. Focusing on the aesthetic (rather than moral) aspect of the experiment, Pound's self-conscious innovation of the Dantean model appears analogous to Shelley's reworking of the early Italian poetic tradition in his *terza rima* verses and "Una Favola" which is discussed in Chapter 5 below. In writing poetry and prose in Italian, Shelley anticipated both Joyce and Pound, whose works in the language are inextricably linked to their experience of Italy, even while they reveal a view of Italian as a fundamentally literary idiom. Shelley's endeavours thus differ from Milton's and the works of earlier authors, who, to borrow Montaigne's expression, wrote in Italian to "essay" the language, but had little or no connection with Italy.

This brief and necessarily selective comparison sufficiently demonstrates that Shelley rightly belongs to the canon of "Italian literature outside Italy". It is not that Shelley's name has never been mentioned in relation to this tradition, but scholars have only taken into (limited) consideration his self-translations, dismissed by Brugnolo as uncertain attempts overdependent on the source texts [84]. Neither "Buona Notte" nor Shelley's original compositions have been acknowledged. Indeed, so far discussions of Italian literary works written by foreigners have focused on more polished texts, especially those published in their author's lifetime. As a result, Shelley (and, presumably, others as well) has been unjustly and unfortunately neglected. Although, for the most part, Shelley's works in Italian are incomplete and fragmentary, they display the distinguishing characteristics of "Italian literature outside Italy". They are self-conscious experiments with the language and its literary tradition that stand in an organic relationship to the rest of his oeuvre; yet, they would not have been possible without his direct experience of Italy. The use of the foreign language stimulated Shelley's metapoetic and metalinguistic reflection, but at the same time his works in Italian have a practical aim, as they originate from his desire to reach an Italian audience. Moreover, precisely because they survive in manuscript form, they offer a unique opportunity to examine a poet's self-translation and composition techniques in a foreign language.

Claiming that Shelley's Italian writings are a contribution to Italian literature does not mean appropriating him. Shelley himself would have resisted the classification of his works as "Italian", or "English", literature, as such labelling goes against the transnational view of literature

[83] Brugnolo 2003, 234-241.

[84] Brugnolo 2009, 33. See also Capelli 2009, which, however, is largely derivative.

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expressed in "A Defence of Poetry", where he affirmed that all poetic compositions (intended in the broadest sense) are "episodes to that great poem, which all poets, like the co-operating thoughts of one great mind, have built up since the beginning of the world" [85]. Anticipating T.S. Eliot's concept of "tradition", Shelley theorised an idea of literature transcending epochs; at the same time, and less surprisingly, his definition calls to mind Goethe's near-contemporary notion of *Weltliteratur* and Germaine de Staël's advocacy of the regenerative power of translation in her essay "De l'Esprit des traductions" (discussed in Chapter 4), as it implies that poetry also rises above national boundaries (and in this sense can be termed "transnational") and its progress results from the interaction of different traditions. Shelley's view of literature, admitting of no temporal or spatial divisions, is fully realised in his works in Italian, the language of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Tuscan poetry, written in the privileged space of a country that was not yet a nation state at the geographical and cultural heart of Europe. His Italian writings are a challenge to the concept of national literature; with them, British Romanticism acquires a truly cosmopolitan dimension. Their study thus contributes to the lively field of research on the international and, particularly, European connections of British literature and culture in the Romantic period [86]. It also bridges English and Italian studies, adding to the history of Italian as a foreign language and providing a case study of the phenomenon of non-native writers in Italian as well as a possible model of edition of texts belonging to that tradition.

[85] *SPP*, 522.

[86] Among the most recent contributions see Saglia 2019 and Bowers 2020.

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2.
THE SGRICCI REVIEW: A PLEDGE FOR THE FUTURE OF ITALY

Tommaso Sgricci (1789-1836) was the greatest *improvvisatore* of his generation and the most prominent member of Shelley's circle of Italian acquaintances in Pisa [1]. Sgricci was a native of Arezzo; he started improvising in his early twenties for small audiences in private salons and literary academies, and in 1816 he made his debut at the theatre in Siena. In the following years, he travelled from town to town, first in Italy and later abroad, performing wherever he was invited, usually in front of a paying public. His *accademie* ("performances") soon acquired a set pattern, which consisted of three parts, each treating a topic chosen by his audience. First, he improvised a blank verse composition, then one in *terza rima*; the last part was the *pièce de résistance*, an extempore tragedy often on a classical subject. His ability to improvise whole tragedies, impersonating different characters, is what made him stand out among the many *improvvisatori* of his age, and it greatly impressed Shelley, who enthused about this talent in his review (No. 4).

Sgricci arrived in Pisa at the end of 1820 and Francesco Pacchiani immediately introduced him to the Shelleys, to whom he became a regular visitor [2]. Long before meeting him, Shelley had read about the Italian *improvvisatori* in travellers' accounts and guidebooks, which predisposed him to admire Sgricci and mediated his response to his art [3]. Shelley's conversations with members of his household (particularly Mary Shel-

[1] The following biographical information is derived from Viviani 1928.

[2] *MWSJ*, 341-350; *CCJ*, 190-199.

[3] On the quintessentially Italian phenomenon of poetic improvisation as literary genre see Vitagliano 1905. More specifically on the vogue for extempore poetry from the beginning of the eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth century see Croce 1905 and Croce 1946.

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ley) further shaped his view of extempore poetry. Although he was soon disillusioned about Sgricci's character [4], the considerations on the nature and function of poetry he made in his review of his tragedy *Ettore* later informed key passages of "A Defence of Poetry". But the significance of this little-known Italian text extends beyond its close links with Shelley's major theoretical essay. Written at a turning point in the poet's Italian exile, as he started to engage with the Pisan intellectual community, the Sgricci review can also be read as Shelley's definitive assessment of the character of the Italians, redressing the unfavourable opinion he had expressed in his first letters from Italy. Moreover, it situates him within the debate on the *improvvisatori* then raging among Italian men of letters, to which I suggest he wanted to contribute. Finally, the review's subtly revolutionary message reveals Shelley's willingness to become directly and practically involved in the political ferments of the time.

2.1. Tommaso Sgricci and the vogue for extempore poetry

Shelley first read about "the Improvisators" amid other "curiosities of Milan" in a letter from Byron (now lost) of November 1816 [5]. As Byron wrote to Augusta Leigh and Thomas Moore, he had seen Tommaso Sgricci's performance at the Teatro alla Scala on 25 October, on which he commented thus:

> His fluency astonished me; but, although I understand Italian, and speak it (with more readiness than accuracy), I could only carry off a few very common-place mythological images, and one line about Artemisia, and another about Algiers, with sixty words of an entire tragedy about Eteocles and Polynices. Some of the Italians liked him – others called his performance "seccatura" (a devilish good word, by the way) and all Milan was in controversy about him. [6]

[4] Shelley seemingly got tired of the *improvvisatore*'s vanity and hauteur (*PBSL*, II, 266-268), but his overt homosexuality may also have contributed to his change of opinion about him. For some contemporary accounts see Monti 1930, 343-344 and *BLJ*, VII, 51-52.

[5] *PBSL*, I, 514; *SC*, V, 18.

[6] *BLJ*, V, 125. The "devilish good word" "seccatura" can be rendered as "a pain in the neck". See also *BLJ*, V, 119. More details about the performance are provided in the note to *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, 4.484.

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Byron's negative impression of Sgricci may have something to do with the fact that the Italians who "liked him" included the poet Vincenzo Monti, who had enthusiastically welcomed his Lordship and flattered him with his attentions, only to forget about him as soon as the celebrated *improvvisatore* arrived in Milan [7]. Byron later sarcastically qualified the character of the Count in *Beppo* as an amateur *improvvisatore*: "He patroniz'd the Improvisatori, / Nay, could himself extemporize some stanzas" (257-258) [8]. Shelley read *Beppo* in Venice in October 1818; in December of the same year, both he and Mary Shelley read *Corinne ou l'Italie* (1807) [9], as if in preparation for their visits to Naples, Rome, and Florence, which are all described at length in Germaine de Staël's story of the *improvvisatrice* Corinna. Byron's and Staël's fictional characters came to life, as it were, in the pages dedicated to contemporary *improvvisatori* in the two guidebooks Shelley consulted during his Italian travels, John Chetwode Eustace's *A Classical Tour through Italy An. MDCCCII* (1813) and Joseph Forsyth's *Remarks on Antiquities, Arts, and Letters during an Excursion in Italy in the Years 1802 and 1803* (1813) [10]. Both fictional and authentic accounts promoted stereotypical views of the Italian improvisers, traces of which can be found in Shelley's criticism of Sgricci's tragedy.

Eustace's encounter with an *improvvisatore* took place in an inn at Foligno. His account is paradigmatic of the foreign travellers' ambivalent response to an extempore performance:

> While at supper, we were amused by the appearance of an *Improvvisatore*, who, after having sung an ode of his own composition in honor of England, poured forth his unpremeditated verse with great harmony of tones, strength of voice, and rapidity of utterance. He asked for a subject, and we gave the prosperity of Italy, which he enlarged upon with some enthusiasm, asking emphatically at the conclusion of each stanza, how Italy, open as it was to two *barbarous* nations, such as the French and the Germans, could ever expect prosperity? […] These

[7] Di Breme 1966, 388-390. On the relationship between Monti and Sgricci see Viviani 1928, 52-64, 88-93.

[8] Despite the tone of this allusion, the art of the Italian *improvvisatori*, particularly Sgricci, left an indelible mark on Byron's own poetic style (Angeletti 2005).

[9] *MWSJ*, 230, 243.

[10] The Shelleys probably owned the fourth edition of Eustace's travelogue, published by Glauco Masi in Leghorn in 1818; cf. Mary Shelley's comment: "We have been reading Eustace's tour through Italy – I do not wonder the Italians reprinted it" (*MWSL*, 78). As stated on the title-page, Masi's bookshop was on "Verrazzana Street opposite the post-office", so they may easily have bought a copy while in Leghorn in May 1818; all references to the travelogue postdate their stay there (see also *MWSJ*, 222 and *PBSL*, II, 54, 89). They read Forsyth in 1819 (*MWSJ*, 256-257, 303).

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> characters, in their wandering habits, precarious mode of living, and interested exertions, so much like the bards of ancient days, have, it is said, decreased in number since the French invasion, owing partly to the depression of the national spirit, and partly to the poverty of their former patrons, and to the absence of wealthy foreigners. The exhibition was perfectly new to us, and while we enjoyed it, we could not but agree that such an ease and versatility of talent, might if properly managed, be directed to very great and very useful purposes. [11]

Although the *improvvisatore* described by Eustace was an unknown itinerant performer, his flattery, emphatic tones, and rapidity of delivery were distinguishing features of the more famous improvisers as well. Likewise, Eustace's comparison of these artists to the ancient bards, his reservations about the *improvvisatore*'s use of his talent, and stress on the political overtones of his verse were all common-place reactions to the phenomenon, which, despite Shelley's contempt for Eustace's travelogue, influenced his own response to Sgricci.

Forsyth devoted an entire section of his *Remarks* to the Italian art of improvisation. Unlike Eustace, he met with one of its major representatives, Fortunata Sulgher Fantastici, and attended several of her private *accademie*, which took place in her house in Florence:

> One morning, after other classical subjects had been sung, a Venetian count gave her the boundless field of Apollonius Rhodius, in which she displayed a minute acquaintance with all the argonautic fable. Tired at last of demigods, I proposed the sofa for a task, and sketched to her the introduction of Cowper's poem. She set out with his idea, but, being once entangled in the net of mythology, she soon transformed his sofa into a Cytherean couch, and brought Venus, Cupid and Mars on the scene; for such embroidery enters into the web of every improvvisatore. […] The poetical commands thus executed […] may shew skill, practice, talent; but none of the higher felicities of art. [12]

Forsyth's account of the famous *improvvisatrice* foregrounds the same over-reliance on the common stock of mythological images as Byron later lamented in Sgricci. Like Eustace, Forsyth also distinguished the talent of the *improvvisatori* from real poetry and went on to locate the phenomenon within the Western European tradition of oral verse, even drawing a lengthy comparison between the Italian improvisers and "their great

[11] Eustace 1818[4], 361-362 (emphasis original).

[12] Forsyth 1813, 55-56. The poem mentioned is William Cowper's *The Task* (1785).

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predecessor Homer" [13]. For Forsyth as later for Shelley, this comparison was inevitably suggested by the subject of the improviser's performance.

Alongside Eustace's and Forsyth's travel accounts, Shelley also seems to have read, or at least heard, of the literary dispute over the vogue for extempore poetry then raging in Italy. There is no evidence, however, that he knew Carl Ludwig Fernow's influential treatise "Über die Improvisatoren" (1806), which together with *Corinne* contributed to the popularisation of the phenomenon in the rest of Europe [14]. As the debate on poetic improvisation occupies a marginal position in the Italian literary history, I briefly summarise it here. While some of the leading writers of the time enthused, with Monti, over the *improvvisatori*, others were more sceptical. Both Ugo Foscolo and Alessandro Manzoni, for instance, composed encomiastic poems dedicated to Tommaso Sgricci [15]. Vittorio Alfieri also wrote a sonnet about the *improvvisatori*, but, as Alessandra Di Ricco points out, his intent was less celebratory than ironical [16]:

"Quanto divina sia la lingua nostra"
ch'estemporanei metri e rime accozza,
ben ampiamente ai Barbari il dimostra
più d'una etrusca improvvisante strozza.

Nasce appena il pensiero, e già s'innostra
di poetico stil; né mai vien mozza
la voce, o dubitevole si prostra,
né mai l'uscente rima ella ringozza.

Più che diletto, maraviglia sempre
destami in cor quest'arte perigliosa,
in cui l'uomo insanisce in vaghe tempre.

Pare, ed è quasi, sovrumana cosa:
quindi è forza, che invidia l'alme stempre
d'ogni altra gente a laudar noi ritrosa. [17]

[13] Forsyth 1813, 57. For the conventional comparison between the *improvvisatori* and Homer see Esterhammer 2016.

[14] Cartago 1990, 67. On the European reception of the *improvvisatori* see Gonda 2000.

[15] See Viviani 1928, 188-189.

[16] Di Ricco 1990, 190.

[17] Quoted in Gentili 1980, 26. "'How divine our language is', which throws together extempore metres and rhymes, more than one strangled Etruscan female improviser widely shows the Barbarians. The thought has barely arisen and is already clothed in our poetic style; neither does the voice ever break, or become feeble and uncertain, nor it ever swallows back the new rhyme. This dangerous art, in which man raves in fair melodies, always brings my heart wonder more than delight. It seems, and

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Alfieri's irony is directed as much against the Tuscan *improvvisatrici* (and *improvvisatori*) as against the envious "Barbarians" otherwise reluctant to praise the Italians, i.e. the foreign travellers. His sonnet also alludes to the allegedly supernatural origin of extempore poetry and the improviser's frenzy, which is another recurrent trope in the foreigners' response to the phenomenon, and one that is central to Shelley's review.

The contrasting views entertained by the Italian men of letters fully emerge in Pietro Giordani's article "Dello Sgricci, e degl'improvvisatori in Italia", published in the Milanese literary periodical *Biblioteca italiana* in 1816, which inflamed the debate over contemporary improvisers. Giordani openly condemned the vogue for extempore poetry, arguing that Italy should not be proud but ashamed of its *improvvisatori*, who spoke much without saying anything. He even suggested that they directed their talent toward memorising the works of the great poets of the past, such as Dante, Ariosto, Tasso, and Metastasio, and reciting them in public with a Tuscan or a Roman accent, in order to educate the illiterate and correct the Italians' faulty pronunciation. However, Giordani admitted that Tommaso Sgricci was good – as good as one can be improvising ("buono quanto improvvisando si può") [18]. He praised his genius, which was already manifest at a young age, and dedication to classical studies, which informed his performances. But in answering the question, "What would his compositions look like if written?", Giordani maintained that they would displease even their author and hinted that the *improvvisatore*'s extraordinary rapidity of execution, which Byron also observed, might be a stratagem to hide the faults of his verse:

> forse con artificio prudente lo Sgricci si affanna di tanto precipitare nella recitazione de' suoi versi, che l'orecchio e la mente possono a gran pena seguirlo; sapendo che meno benigni giudici avrebbe, se lasciasse più spazio a giudicare i concetti e le frasi: né mancar dee di maraviglia un sì copioso e sì rapido torrente di parole. [19]

Like Alfieri, Giordani acknowledged that the rapid flow of the *improvvisatore*'s verse may be a cause of wonder. In describing it, he employed

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almost is, something superhuman: so it needs be that it makes the rotten souls envious of all the foreigners reluctant to praise us".

[18] Giordani 1846, 446.

[19] Giordani 1846, 447. "perhaps Sgricci endeavours with cautious artifice to hurry so the recitation of his verse that ear and mind can hardly follow him, knowing that he would have less benign judges, if he gave them more time to judge concepts and sentences; nor must such a copious and rapid torrent of words lack in wonder".

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the same torrent metaphor as Shelley later used in his review. Giordani's second reservation about Sgricci regards the effects on him of the large amount of vain, and possibly detrimental, applause he had already received ("tanti plausi, forse nocituri e certamente vani"), which could distract him from cultivating his talent. Four years later, Mary Shelley lamented that Sgricci cared less for enduring fame than for transient glory [20].

Shelley's criticism of the *improvvisatore* was shaped not only by the opinions of fellow travellers and contemporary writers, but also by Mary Shelley's and Claire Clairmont's response to Sgricci's art. Before the *accademia* reviewed by Shelley, the poet and his family saw Sgricci extemporise on two occasions. On making their acquaintance on 1 December 1820, he gave them a private performance with which he immediately won their sympathy, as he declaimed extempore verses "upon the future independance of Italy" [21]. Mary Shelley narrated this meeting in a letter to Hunt she wrote two days later in Italian, where she included a quotation from Sgricci's improvisation:

> Poi abiamo fatto conoscenza con un'Improvisatore – un'uomo di gran' talento – e molto forte nel Greco, e con un genio poetico incomparabile. Improvise con un fuoco e justezza ammirabile. Il suo sujetto era il destino futuro d'Italia. Rammentò che Petrarca disse che ni le Alpe altissime ni il mare bastava a difendere questo paese vaccillante e vecchio dai Padroni forestieri – Ma disse lui – vedo crescere le Alpe – e alzare e turbare il mare stesso per impedire i di suoi nemici. Sfortunatamente lui, come qualchi poeti della nostra patria, trove piu piacere nei applausi momentarii d'un teatro e le feste che lo fanno le donne che di studiare per la posterità. [22]

Mary Shelley overlooked the obvious fact that Sgricci had prepared his performance to ingratiate himself with the foreign travellers; elsewhere, she also expressed unreserved admiration for his Italian, stating that "the

[20] Giordani 1846, 451; *MWSL*, 163.

[21] *CCJ*, 190.

[22] *MWSL*, 163, corrected against holograph manuscript (Huntington HM 2747, p. 2). "Then we made the acquaintance of an Improvisatore – a man of great talent – and very strong in Greek, and with an incomparable poetic genius. He improvises with an admirable fire and exactness. His subject was the future destiny of Italy. He recalled that Petrarch said that neither the very high Alps nor the sea was enough to defend this wobbling and old country from the foreign Masters – But he said – I see the Alps grow – and the sea itself rise and swell to stop its enemies. Unfortunately he, like some poets of our own country, finds more pleasure in the momentary applause of a theatre and the warm welcome that ladies give him than in studying for posterity".

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rich flow of his beautifully pronounced language is as pleasant to the ear as a sonata of Mozart" [23]. Both her letter in Italian and Shelley's review may have been an attempt to imitate the *improvvisatore*'s eloquent, flowing language.

The Shelleys then saw Sgricci's first public *accademia* in Pisa on 21 December. Mary Shelley wrote in her journal that "He poured forth a torrent of poetry clothed in the most beautiful language", whereas Claire Clairmont recorded: "it seemed not the work of a human mind, but as if he were the instrument played upon by the superhuman inspirations of a God" [24]. The figurative language employed by both women echoes the contemporary discourse on the *improvvisatori*; moreover, their comments correspond to passages in Shelley's review, revealing the influence that his conversations with them, as much as their shared reading, had on his thoughts and opinions. The day after Sgricci's second Pisan performance (the one that Shelley reviewed), Mary Shelley also had a tête-à-tête with the *improvvisatore*, part of which she reported to Claire, who had moved to Florence:

> he talked with delight of the inspiration he had experienced the night before, which bore him out of himself and filled him as they describe the Pythyness to have been filled with divine & tumultuous emotion – especially in the part where Cassandra prophesies he was as over come as she could { } & he poured forth prophecy as if Apollo had also touched his lips with the oracular touch. [25]

Early in his career, Sgricci had expressed a similar concept in a letter to his mother, in which he noted that he had appeared to his audience not as a man, but as an emanation of divine intelligence [26]. The image

[23] *MWSL*, 172.

[24] *MWSJ*, 343; *CCJ*, 198. Mary Shelley reworked her recollections of Sgricci in an 1826 book review, in which she subscribed to the general opinion that the Italian art of extempore poetry was a waste of talent: "their improvisatori […] pour out, as a cataract does water, poetic imagery and language; but except that the genial moisture somewhat fertilizes the near bordering banks, it reaches the ocean of oblivion, leaving no trace behind" ("The English in Italy", in M. Shelley 1996, II, 157). In Florence in 1821, Claire Clairmont attended two *accademie* of a renowned *improvvisatrice*, Lucrezia Landi Mazzei, but the novelty being gone, she made only passing references to them in her journal (*CCJ*, 208, 219).

[25] *MWSL*, 182. An Italian jotting in Mary Shelley's hand on Bodleian MS. Shelley adds. e. 17, p. 3 (the notebook containing Shelley's review) may be a quotation from Sgricci's conversation: "aspetto fin che il diluvio cala ed allora cerco di posare argine alle sue parole –" ("I wait until the flood subsides and then I try to embank his words –").

[26] Quoted in Viviani 1928, 49.

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of a god speaking through the *improvvisatore* recurs in Shelley's review, which thus seems to incorporate Sgricci's own voice, mediated by Mary Shelley.

2.2. Italy as theatre

The Sgricci review testifies to the development of Shelley's attitude toward the Italians from a detached, stereotyped view of them to a sympathetic identification with their plight. To appreciate the extent of this change, it is necessary to return to Shelley's first impressions upon entering Italy as recorded in his letter to Peacock of 6 April 1818 from Milan, from which I have already extracted a citation in the previous chapter:

> no sooner had we arrived at Italy than the loveliness of the earth & the serenity of the sky made the greatest difference in my sensations – I depend on these things for life for in the smoke of cities & the tumult of humankind & the chilling fogs & rain of our own country I can hardly be said to live. – With what delight did I hear the woman who conducted us to see the triumphal arch of Augustus at Susa speaking the clear & complete language of Italy, tho' half unintelligible to me, after that nasal & abbreviated cacophany of the French! A ruined arch of magnificent proportions in the Greek taste standing in a kind of road of green lawn overgrown with violets & primroses & in the midst of stupendous mountains, & a *blonde* woman of light & graceful manners, something in the style of Fuseli's Eve were the first things we met in Italy. [27]

Shelley's encounter with Italy, one of its inhabitants, and her language is described as a theatrical spectacle, the memory of the "fogs & rain" of England rising like a curtain on a sunlit valley, with the Alps in the background, Hellenising props, and a prima donna in the centre of the stage looking reassuringly not too exotic. Significantly, the description is seamlessly followed by an account of the Shelleys' first night at the Teatro alla Scala:

> This city is very agreeable – We went to the opera last night – which is a most splendid exhibition. The opera itself was not a favourite, & the singers very inferior to our own. But the Ballet, or rather a kind of

[27] *PBSL*, II, 3-4 (emphasis original).

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> melodrama or pantomimic dance, was the most splendid spectacle I ever saw. [28]

The Shelleys started to go regularly to the opera after moving to London in early 1818 in preparation for their emigration, and they maintained this habit throughout their stay in Italy [29]. As Lilla Maria Crisafulli has demonstrated, the ballets (*coreodrammi*) Shelley saw in Milan had a profound influence on the final act of his first "lyrical drama", *Prometheus Unbound* [30]; more in general, his repeated exposure to Italian opera also reverberated in the way in which he experienced the everyday reality of Italy. Shelley approached the foreign country as a performance of which he was the spectator; in the first months of his exile, when his engagement with locals was limited, he constantly scrutinised and judged the Italians, on and off stage, always maintaining a safe distance from them. Shelley's spectatorial attitude emerges from his frequent use of the verb "to seem" in the accounts he wrote to his English friends. In his second letter to Peacock from Milan, he affirmed that "The people here, though inoffensive enough, *seem* both in body & soul a miserable race". Writing to Hogg a few days later, he added that "the women especially *seem* a very inferior race of beings". In Leghorn the poet was convinced that "Italian society *seems* sufficiently worthless", while from Bagni di Lucca he explained to Godwin:

> The modern Italians *seem* a miserable people – without sensibility or imagination or understanding. Their outside is polished & an intercourse with them *seems* to proceed with much facility – tho it ends in nothing & produces nothing. [31]

Shelley continued to observe and criticise the Italians as he moved southwards to Naples, whence he complained of "the filthy modern inhabitants of what aught to be a desart sacred to days whose glory is extinguished", immediately after admitting that "in Naples I have no

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[28] *PBSL*, II, 4. The Shelleys saw a *melodramma semiserio*, *Etelinda* (music by Peter von Winter, libretto by Gaetano Rossi), and the tragic ballet *Otello o sia il moro di Venezia* by Salvatore Viganò (Bentoglio 2019, 84).

[29] For a complete list of performances that Shelley attended see Mulhallen 2010, 243-255. His lifelong interest in opera is testified by a holograph transcript of a duet from Mozart's *La clemenza di Tito* (libretto by Caterino Mazzolà) on one of the manuscript leaves of "The Indian Serenade" ("I arise from dreams of thee"), tentatively dated to 1821-22 (*MYRS*, VIII, 336-337).

[30] Crisafulli 2002; Crisafulli 2014.

[31] *PBSL*, II, 9, 14, 18, 22 (my emphases).

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acquaintance" [32]. Narrating his party's night-time excursion on Mount Vesuvius to Peacock, he described the behaviour of their Neapolitan guides as a tragicomic performance, which acquires a clear operatic connotation towards the end:

> Our Guides on this occasion were complete Savages. You have no idea of the horrible cries which they suddenly utter, no one knows why, the clamour the vociferation & the tumult. Clare in her palanquin suffered most from it & when I had gone on before they threatened to leave her in the middle of the road, which they would have done, had not my Italian servant promised them a beating, after which they became very quiet. Nothing however can be more picturesque than the gestures & physiognomies of these savage people. And when in the darkness of night they unexpectedly begin to sing in chorus some fragment of their wild & but [*sic*] sweet national music, the effect is exceedingly fine. [33]

The perception of Italy as a real-life *melodramma* that is voiced in this passage became even stronger the following summer in Leghorn, where the Shelleys heard the peasants at work in the fields singing "not very melodiously but very loud – Rossini's music – *Mi revedrai ti revedro*" [34].

Shelley's reaction to Italy was by no means unique; most nineteenth-century tourists approached it with the same detachment, and some explicitly compared it to the theatre and other popular forms of entertainment. Unsurprisingly, Leigh Hunt's first impression of the country, which he described at length in the second of his "Letters from Abroad" published in *The Liberal*, closely recalls that of his friend and fellow opera-goer. Seeing Genoa from the port, the city appeared to him as "a glorious amphitheatre", and right upon landing he was welcomed by the "spectacle" of a religious procession parading a narrow street flanked by two rows of seats occupied by "well-dressed company […] as in a music-room" [35]. As in Shelley's accounts of a few years earlier, so in Hunt's following detached description "men, women, and children become *fictional*, and are transformed unwittingly into actors and walk-on parts […], their lines written by an outsider to their community" [36].

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[32] *PBSL*, II, 69.

[33] *PBSL*, II, 63.

[34] *MWSL*, 102-103. The curious fact is also reported in Shelley's letter to Hogg of 25 July 1819: "The vine-dressers are singing all day *mi rivedrai*, *ti revedrò*, but by no means in an operatic style" (*PBSL*, II, 105). The words are from Rossini's *melodramma eroico*, *Tancredi* (libretto by Gaetano Rossi).

[35] *The Liberal: Verse and Prose from the South* 1, 2 (1822), 269, 277.

[36] Crisafulli 2005, 153 (emphasis original).

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The development of proto-cinematic forms of entertainment in the 1820s and 1830s provided travellers with new metaphors to apply to Italy, so that when Mary Shelley revisited Venice in 1842, she could refer to her memories of her residence there as scenes in a diorama [37]. Charles Dickens used a similar metaphor to describe the sharp contrast between the elegant palaces and richly adorned churches and the slumlike side streets he saw in Genoa in the summer of 1844: "A bewildering phantasmagoria, with all the inconsistency of a dream, and all the pain and all the pleasure of an extravagant reality!" [38]. Dickens's account of the striking juxtaposition between Genoa's – and, by extension, Italy's – past greatness and present decadence echoes Shelley's famous distinction between "two Italies" in an early letter to Hunt:

> one composed of the green earth & transparent sea and the mighty ruins of antient times, and aerial mountains, & the warm & radiant atmosphere which is interfused through all things. The other consists of the Italians of the present day, their works & ways. The one is the most sublime & lovely contemplation that can be conceived by the imagination of man; the other the most degraded disgusting & odious. [39]

Yet, the theatrical and proto-cinematic metaphors employed by Shelley and other British writers in Italy tell less about the current state of the country than about the travellers' expectations, which, since the Grand Tour of the eighteenth century, had been chiefly to be surprised and entertained [40].

Shelley's view of contemporary Italy as a theatre where roles or parts were performed culminated in his review of Sgricci's *accademia*, in which both the performer and his audience are commented upon. At the same time, the review marks Shelley's overcoming of the preconceptions and aloofness that had characterised his attitude toward the Italians before moving to Pisa, as it is written from a fictionalised internal perspective.

[37] *Rambles in Germany and Italy, in 1840, 1842, and 1843*, in M. Shelley 1996, VIII, 269.
[38] Dickens 1998, 40.
[39] *PBSL*, II, 67.
[40] Praz 2002, 323-324.

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2.3. From the Sgricci review to "A Defence of Poetry"

Shelley wrote his review of Sgricci's tragedy on the death of Hector in the days immediately following the performance, part of the *improvisatore*'s second *accademia* in Pisa, which took place on 22 January 1821 [41]. This makes the review one of Shelley's first works in Italian, perhaps even the very first. The only extant version is an incomplete draft in ink in Bodleian MS. Shelley adds. e. 17, which has been dubbed "The Notebook of Improvises" [42]. It is preceded in the present forwards direction of the notebook by Mary Shelley's fair copy of the verse fragment "Orpheus", a joint composition that can also be assigned to late January 1821 and constitutes evidence of the Shelleys' shared interest in the theme of poetic inspiration, which had been sparked by their encounter with Sgricci. The draft of "Buona Notte", Shelley's "Italian impromptu", follows the review, in a sequence that is likely to correspond to their relative order of composition [43]. Later that year, Shelley also adopted the jargon of extempore poetry in reference to his English verse, presenting *Hellas* (written in October 1821) as "a mere improvise" [44].

Two days before seeing Sgricci's performance, Shelley wrote to Vincent Novello that he had just recovered from "a severe ophthalmia", adding: "My eyes even yet are very inadequate to the fatigue of writing" [45]. Shelley's condition manifests itself in the manuscript of his review, where the words are carelessly traced and many characters are imperfectly formed. Furthermore, false starts and uncorrected misspellings are more frequent at the end than at the beginning of the draft – a sign of the writer's growing tiredness and declining concentration. Fatigue, possibly combined with impatience and frustration at his inability to express his thoughts in Italian, may have induced Shelley to abandon the draft.

The idea of writing a critical piece on Sgricci seems first to have occurred to Mary Shelley, who suggested it to Hunt on 29 December 1820. After a lengthy description of the *improvisatore*'s first Pisan performance, she added:

> The name of this Improvisatore is Sgricci, and I see that his name is mentioned in your literary pocket book. This has made me think that it

[41] Dawson 1981, 24, n. 26; *MWSJ*, 350.
[42] *BSM*, XII, xxvii.
[43] *BSM*, XII, xxviii.
[44] *SPP*, 430.
[45] *PBSL*, II, 259.

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> were an interesting plan for this same pretty pocket book if you were to give some small interesting account – not exactly a biographical sketch, but *anecdotical* and somewhat critical of the various authors of the list. [46]

Nothing came of this proposal, but several points in Mary Shelley's letter to Hunt anticipate passages of Shelley's review, suggesting that he may have discussed its outline with her. For instance, she introduced the *improvvisatore* as an example of the Italians' natural talent ("a wonderful and beautiful exhibition of talent […] peculiar to the Italians"); then, she touched upon the idea of the divine nature of Sgricci's inspiration: "it was one impulse that filled him; an unchanged deity who spoke within him". After describing the performance, she voiced her opinion on the question, which Shelley also addressed, of what it would be like to read Sgricci's tragedy: "Of course if we saw it written there would have been many slight defects of management, defects – amended when seen – but many of the scenes were perfect". Like Shelley, she concluded by turning her attention to Sgricci's audience, largely composed of foreigners:

> The theatre was nearly empty on this occasion – The students of the University half filled the pit and the few people in the boxes were foreigners except two Pisan families who went away before it was half over. [47]

Additionally, Mary Shelley privately "reviewed" Sgricci's *Ettore* in her letter to Claire Clairmont of 21-24 January 1821:

> The subject of the Tragedy was the Death of Hector. S[gricci] was in excellent *inspiration*, his poetry was brilliant flowing & divine – a hymn to Mars & another to Victory were wonderfully spirited & striking – Achilles foretold to Hector that he (Achilles) was the master spirit who would destroy & vanquish him – Victory, he said, sits on the pummel of my sword & the way is short from thence to the point. The madness of Cassandra was exquisitely delineated – and her prophesies wondrous & torrent like – they burst on the ear like the Cry Trojans cry – of Shakespear and music eloquence & poetry were combined in this wonderful effort of the imagination – or rather shall I say of the inspiration of some wondrous deity. [48]

The extract usefully complements Shelley's own review and echoes it in more than one detail, revealing that the Shelleys were united in their

[46] *MWSL*, 172 (emphasis original).
[47] *MWSL*, 171.
[48] *MWSL*, 182 (emphasis original).

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appreciation of the tragedy. In particular, Mary Shelley translated the lines from Achilles' speech to Hector quoted in the original by Shelley, who also wrote them in Italian across a page of her letter [49]. Sgricci improvised a tragedy on the same subject in Turin two years later, which was transcribed and published, but it does not contain those lines [50].

Shelley boldly opened his review declaring that Sgricci's tragedy "surpassed perhaps all that Italy ever knew in that genre" ("forse sovrastava tutto cio ch'Italia mai conobbe in quel genere"). He further described the performance as "a marvellous exhibition of the power of the human mind" ("un esibizione […] maravigliosa della forza della umana mente") and extolled the *improvvisatore*'s ability to communicate the characters' emotions to the audience by means of his gesture, voice, and countenance. A summary of the action follows, interspersed with the reviewer's comments. Like Mary Shelley in her letter, Shelley singled out the scene of Cassandra's prophecy for special praise, observing that "it electrified the Theatre" ("ellettrizzava il Teatro"). His use of a scientific metaphor to represent the cathartic effect of Sgricci's verse has been likened to a passage from Plato's *Ion* (which Shelley read in January 1821 and partly translated later that year) comparing the divine inspiration of the poet to the power of attraction of the magnet, which communicates itself to the iron [51]. In this section of Shelley's review, the influence of his reading on the subject of the *improvvisatori* also emerges. The accelerating rhythm of the performance towards the catastrophe is described as the flow of a torrent: "da quel punto l'interesse si precipitavava al catastrophe a guisa di torrente". Cancelled readings reveal that Shelley attempted to introduce a variation on this trope, previously used by Giordani, qualifying it as a "torrent of hopes and fears" seeking repose "in the sea of death" ("il torrente di speranze e timori cercavono il loro riposo nella mare di morte"). The same image recurs at the end of a verse fragment connected with *Epipsychidion*, "What [?are] those [joys] which serene Infancy": "the stream / Of life, which flows […] / […] to the grave / As to an ocean" (25-28). Echoing Forsyth, in the following paragraph Shelley then drew a comparison between Sgricci and Homer, arguing that even though the *improvvisatore* did not seek to translate or imitate his "inimitable" ("inimitabile") source, some passages of his verse were not "unworthy" ("indegni") of Homer.

[49] "Il tuo destino ↑(fato)↓ siede su il ~~punto~~ ↑elsa↓ della mia spada / E dall'elsa al punto e picciol tratto –" (Pforzheimer MS. MWS 0362, p. 4).

[50] Sgricci 1823. It was reprinted in Sgricci 1825, 87-138 and Sgricci 1828.

[51] Dawson 1981, 22-23; *PBSL*, II, 261, 360.

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Commenting on the incomparable ("inparagonabili") choruses of the tragedy, Shelley also subscribed to the widespread impression (promoted by Sgricci himself) that the *improvvisatore* was divinely inspired: "Questi passi non furono dal poeta C'era piuttosto un Dio che parlava in lui" ("These passages were not from the poet Rather there was a God speaking inside him"). However, as Shelley tried to elaborate on this idea, he jotted down some observations that point toward an alternative view of poetic inspiration, anticipating the original reflections contained in "A Defence of Poetry", which he wrote about a month after drafting the Sgricci review [52]. In particular, two discarded sentences in the Italian draft seem to have been translated back into English and incorporated in the later essay. The first begins: "la poesia e cosa divina" ("poetry is a divine thing"); this corresponds to Shelley's statement in "A Defence of Poetry" that "Poetry is indeed something divine" [53]. The second cancelled sentence reads: "fu, come la lira che producendo dolce melodia se stessa non la ude" ("he [Sgricci] was like the lyre which, producing a sweet melody, hears it not"). A distinct echo of this passage is contained in the description of poets as "the words which express what they understand not, the trumpets which sing to battle and feel not what they inspire" from the conclusion of "A Defence of Poetry" [54]. Shelley had previously employed the image of the Aeolian lyre – a popular instrument and a new conceptual model for the poetic mind in the Romantic period – to represent the poet visited by inspiration in the invocation of *Alastor* and in the last stanza of "Ode to the West Wind". By comparing the *improvvisatore* to the lyre, he conveyed an idea that is pivotal to "A Defence of Poetry"; namely, that the poet has neither awareness of, nor control over, his own inspiration. The same concept is expressed in the Sgricci review by means of a different image, derived from traditional aesthetic theory. Shelley wrote of Sgricci that "He himself was not aware of the images, of which his soul was the mirror" ("Egli stesso non fu consapevole delle imaggine, delle quale l'anima sua fu lo specchio"). At the end of "A Defence of Poetry", the mirror becomes a metaphor of the poet as prophet and legislator: "Poets are the hierophants of an unapprehended inspiration, the mirrors of the gigantic shadows which futurity

[52] On 22 February 1821, Shelley promised Ollier that he would send "A Defence of Poetry" to him "as soon as it is written, which will be in a very few days" (*PBSL*, II, 268). Mary Shelley's fair-copy transcript of the essay was enclosed in Shelley's letter to Ollier of 20 March 1821 (*PBSL*, II, 275).

[53] *SPP*, 531.

[54] *SPP*, 535.

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casts upon the present" [55]. While in the Sgricci review both the lyre and the mirror are still related to the idea of the supernatural origin of the *improvvisatore*'s inspiration (the mirror reflects the rays of "Apolline", i.e. Apollo), in "A Defence of Poetry" the same images serve to illustrate a central tenet of Shelley's mature poetic thought, that is that the divine power of inspiration resides within the poet, not above him:

> the mind in creation is as a fading coal which some invisible influence, like an inconstant wind, awakens to transitory brightness: *this power arises from within*, like the colour of a flower which fades and changes as it is developed, and the conscious portions of our natures are unprophetic either of its approach or its departure. […] when composition begins, inspiration is already on the decline, and the most glorious poetry that has ever been communicated to the world is probably a feeble shadow of the original conception of the poet. I appeal to the greatest Poets of the present day, whether it be not an error to assert that the finest passages of poetry are produced by labour and study. [56]

In this passage, Shelley at once asserted the unpremeditated nature of poetry, thus implicitly vindicating the authenticity of extempore verse, and emancipated himself from the stereotyped idea of the transcendental origin of poetic inspiration. Tommaso Sgricci is not mentioned in "A Defence of Poetry", but Shelley's recent experience of the art of the *improvvisatori* seems to have been much in his mind as he wrote his essay.

Alongside the question of the nature of poetic inspiration, the Sgricci review also addresses the issues of the role of imagination and the social function of the poet, both of which Shelley later explored in "A Defence of Poetry". In the opening passage, the *improvvisatore*'s imagination is said to have appeared to act autonomously from his intellect: "l'immaginazione del poeta pareva che agiva senza l'ajiuto dell'intelletto". The juxtaposition of intellect and imagination recurs in a later passage of the review, which prefigures the opening distinction of "A Defence of Poetry" between reason and imagination. Shelley's opinion of the Italians is considerably improved since his visit to Naples:

> questo talento, e tutto d'Italia – l'imaginazione fa, fra di noi in un momento l'opra che l'intelletto consomma fra gli altri in lungo tempo, e

[55] *SPP*, 535. On the Romantics' use of the new trope of the Aeolian harp and the traditional one of the mirror see Abrams 1953, especially Chapters 2 and 3.

[56] *SPP*, 531 (my emphasis). For the idea of man's internal divinity expressed in "A Defence of Poetry" see Wasserman 1971, 204-220.

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> dopo molte tentative. E questo dono e il pregio del nostro presente destino, ed il pegno del futuro.
>
> *This talent, is quintessentially Italian – among us, the imagination does the work in an instant which the intellect accomplishes among others over a long time, and after many attempts. And this gift is the merit of our present destiny, and the pledge of our future.*

In the first paragraph of "A Defence of Poetry", Shelley expounded the difference between reason and imagination, and the superiority of the latter, in the following terms:

> Reason is the enumeration of quantities already known; Imagination the perception of the value of those quantities, both separately and as a whole. Reason respects the differences, and Imagination the similitudes of things. Reason is to Imagination as the instrument to the agent, as the body to the spirit, as the shadow to the substance. [57]

Reason and imagination are used as universal terms in "A Defence of Poetry". On the contrary, in the Sgricci review, they are identified with opposing national characters. Shelley presented the *improvvisatore* as the epitome of the innate imagination of the Italians, which he contrasted with the intellect driving the actions of "gli altri", that is foreign nations ("nazioni" is cancelled in the manuscript).

The Italians' predisposition to improvisation was a stereotype held by foreigners and natives alike. Lorenzo Da Ponte's autobiographical account can be cited as an example. In his memoirs, published in 1823, Da Ponte confessed that as a young man in Venice he had practised the art of extempore poetry:

> Fu in questi tempi che, avendo avuto occasione di conoscere diversi celebri improvvisatori italiani, tra i quali l'abate Lorenzi, monsignor Stratico e l'Altanesi, mi misi al cimento anch'io d'improvvisare. […] Questa facilità di recitare o cantare improvvisamente in buoni versi, su qualunque soggetto e in qualunque metro, quasi esclusivamente propria degli italiani, dovrebbe bastare a far conoscere quanto poetica, quanto per tutti i modi pregevole stimar si debba la nostra lingua, che presta colle sue grazie, colle sue melodie, colle sue dovizie i mezzi di dire *ex abrupto* quelle cose, che da' verseggiatori dell'altre lingue, anche dopo lungo studio e meditazione, difficilmente si scrivono; cose non solo vaghe ed ornate e d'esser lodate ed udite degnissime, ma atte a dilettare, a sorprendere ed a rapire gli animi di chi le ascolta, come quelli diranno,

[57] *SPP*, 510-511.

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> che non solo gli incomparabili Gianni e Dal Mollo, ma la Corilla, la Bandettini e qualch'altra famosa improvvisatrice ebbero la sorte d'udire. [58]

Like Alfieri, but without his sarcasm, Da Ponte ascribed the Italians' facility for improvisation to the poetic character of their language. Foreign travellers agreed on the latter point, but, as the cases of Eustace and Forsyth illustrate, they tended to criticise this too facile use of Italian. Angela Esterhammer argues that the travellers' ambivalent response to the *improvvisatori* arose from an inner conflict between admiration for their genius and the perception of the phenomenon of extempore poetry as irreducibly alien [59]. In his review, Shelley solved this conflict in a unique way by assuming the point of view of an Italian, as revealed by his use of the first person plural subject "noi" ("we") in the passage quoted above.

Thus freed from reservations, Shelley could celebrate the Italians' "gift" ("dono") of the imagination both as a present ornament and consolation ("il pregio del nostro presente destino") and as a pledge for the future of the country: "il pegno del futuro". The allusion is to the cause of Italy's independence. In Shelley's review, the trope of the innate poetic genius of the Italian people acquires a political connotation, as the imagination producing the *improvvisatore*'s verse is hailed as a force of national regeneration. Indeed, this passage of the Sgricci review contains the germ of the realisation with which "A Defence of Poetry" culminates; namely, that poetry is "The most unfailing herald, companion, and follower of the awakening of a great people to work a beneficial change in opinion or institution" [60]. By writing from the fictionalised perspective of an Italian, Shelley also turned the particular cause of Italy's independence into a common one, thus giving proof of his cosmopolitan outlook. A compara-

[58] Da Ponte 1976, 46. "It was at this time that, having had the opportunity to meet several celebrated Italian *improvvisatori*, including the Abate Lorenzi, Monsignor Stratico, and Altanesi, I, too, attempted to improvise. […] This facility for reciting or singing impromptu in good verse, on any subject and in any metre, which is almost exclusive to the Italians, should suffice to show how poetical, how by all means valuable, our language should be considered, which with its graces, its melodies, its riches provides the means to say ex abrupto such things as are rarely written by versifiers in other languages even after long study and meditation – things not only fair and ornate and most worthy of being praised and listened to, but apt to delight, surprise, and captivate the souls of the auditors, as those will say who had the chance to listen not only to the incomparable Gianni and Dal Mollo, but to the Corilla, Bandettini, and some other famous *improvvisatrice*".

[59] Esterhammer 2008, 5-6.

[60] *SPP*, 535.

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ble instance of his adopting a foreign persona in a prose work occurs in the fragments known as "Arch of Titus" and "Restoration of the Jews", parts of a proto-Zionist "dramatic oration" by a Jewish speaker, which may date from the same period as the Sgricci review [61]. In both cases, Shelley's adoption of a foreign identity is dictated by his belief in the universal cause of freedom, which led him to write in the Preface to *Hellas* that "We are all Greeks" [62]. It is the right to self-determination not of one but of any nation that he advocated in all these works, demonstrating, by virtue of his first-person narrative, that anyone can identify with a people's struggle for liberty and independence.

In a letter to Claire Clairmont of 18 February 1821, Shelley vented his disappointment at Sgricci's lack of sympathy for the Neapolitan constitutionalists: "They cannot improvise tragedies as Sgricci can, but is it certain that under no excitement they would be incapable of more enthusiasm for their country?" [63]. Alluding to the *improvvisatore*'s rumoured involvement with the Carbonari movement, Mary Shelley commented in a similar vein: "Sgricci has been accused of carbonarism whether truly or not I cannot judge – I should think not or he w[d] be trying to harvest at Naples instead of extemporizing here" [64]. Sgricci's political apathy may have appeared to the Shelleys to jar with the patriotic themes of some of his performances, beginning with the one he had privately delivered to them, but this contradiction only served as a confirmation of what Shelley later stated in "A Defence of Poetry" about poets, i.e. that they "may often, as far as regards many portions of their nature, have little apparent correspondence with that spirit of good of which they are the ministers" [65]. Tommaso Sgricci embodied the poets' lack of awareness of the beneficial impact of their verse on society.

2.4. Shelley's search for an Italian audience

Shelley's review continues with a discussion of the literary value of the *improvvisatore*'s tragedy:

[61] Crook 2010.
[62] *SPP*, 431.
[63] *PBSL*, II, 266.
[64] *MWSL*, 172. The rumours seem to have originated in Sgricci's expulsion from Rome in 1819 following his alleged criticism of the papal government (Viviani 1928, 103-112).
[65] *SPP*, 535.

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> gli invidi diranno forse, che se fosse scritta, una tragedia prodotta in questo modo, manifesterebbe molte imperfezioni nell'arte, che non sono sentite nella recita. – Ma fra questi chi e, chi producera, col olio e sudore d'un anno una tragedia dove non sarebbero una folla di errori da perdonare? O piuotosto chi fra loro ebbi ma questa verace ispirazione che ci invita a perdonarglilo? Sono meno forse le tragedie perfette che non creda il mondo; e molt errori sono perdonati perche non sono conosciuti.
>
> *The envious will say perhaps, that if it were written, a tragedy produced in this way, would display many artistic imperfections, which are not perceived in the recitation. – But among them who is there, who will produce, with the oil and sweat of a year a tragedy in which there would not be a crowd of errors to be forgiven? Or rather who among them has ever had this true inspiration which invites us to pardon him his errors? Perfect tragedies are perhaps less numerous than the world may think; and many errors are forgiven because they are not known.*

This passage contains clear autobiographical elements, which signal that the Italian persona Shelley adopted in drafting his review cannot be separated from his English identity. The reference to "the oil and sweat of a year" ("olio e sudore d'un anno") which, according to the poet, are necessary to produce a faultless tragedy would appear to be an allusion not so much to *The Cenci* (1819), composed within a few months of sustained inspiration, as to the never realised project of a tragedy on Tasso, which Shelley conceived as soon as he set foot in Italy and announced to Peacock in the following terms: "I have devoted this summer & indeed *the next year* to the composition of a tragedy on the subject of Tasso's madness" [66]. Shelley may also have been thinking of his more recent project of a tragedy entitled "Charles the First", mentioned to Medwin in July 1820, but still not begun by the time he witnessed Sgricci's performance in January 1821 [67]. At the same time, Shelley's remarks seem to allude to Giordani's criticism of Sgricci, as they read almost as a reply to the question, "What would Sgricci's extempore verse look like if written?", which Giordani had raised in his 1816 article. Although there is no record of Shelley's reading Giordani's piece in the *Biblioteca italiana*, this passage from the Sgricci review reveals that he was aware of the contemporary public debate over the Italian *improvvisatori* and manifests his desire to contribute to it. Shelley may have been prompted to express his opinion after witnessing the debate assume particularly violent tones on

[66] *PBSL*, II, 8 (my emphasis).
[67] *PBSL*, II, 219-220, 258, 269.

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the occasion of Sgricci's first public performance in Pisa, which risked being disrupted by a "gang" of "wiseacre Professors" led by his acquaintance Rosini [68].

It follows from the above that Shelley wrote his review with a view to publication, as first proposed by Rossetti, who discovered the draft [69]. No printed version is known to exist and its unfinished state points against the possibility that it was actually published. However, a review of a theatrical performance is by its very nature destined for immediate consumption, and the fact that Shelley wrote his piece in Italian indicates that he meant it to appear in a local newspaper. In this respect, the adoption of an Italian identity appears to have had a practical as well as an ideal aim, and should be regarded as a strategy that would enable the reviewer to win the attention of an audience of native speakers by presenting himself as one of them. That the use of an Italian persona is a conscious rhetorical move is proved by the corrections in the manuscript: in extolling Italian extempore poetry, Shelley initially described the imagination that nurtured it as "il pegno del suo futuro" ("the pledge of its future") and "il pregio del suo presente destino" ("the merit of its present destiny"), but on second thought he replaced "suo" ("its"), referring to the above-mentioned Italy, with "nostro" ("our"). He thus reinforced his previous identification with the Italians, signalled by the subject "we", and conveyed a sense of communality.

As Rossington cogently argues, Shelley may have chosen to write his review in Italian to further the constitutionalists' cause [70]. The immediate context of the piece lends itself to further speculation about its purpose. In the early 1820s, the cause of the Italian independence was supported in Pisa by a large portion of *scolari* (as university students were called) and some liberal-minded professors, and one of the centres of their political propaganda was the local theatre, where Sgricci performed [71]. The Shelleys' apartment in Palazzo Galletti was close to the university [72]; they also became personally acquainted with one of the revolutionary students, Francesco Danielli Panciatichi (Teresa Viviani's eventually

[68] *MWSL*, 172.

[69] P.B. Shelley 1870, I, cxxx, n. A holograph note among Rossetti's papers at the University of British Columbia Library reveals that in the first enthusiasm of his discovery he thought that the review could "have been actually inserted in some newspaper" (Angeli-Dennis Collection, William Michael Rossetti series, 18-17). Rossetti's work on Bodleian MS. Shelley adds. e. 17 is summarised in *BSM*, XII, xxxv-xxxvii.

[70] Rossington 2007, 240.

[71] Michel 1949, 18-20.

[72] Villani 2010, 175.

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rejected suitor), who in April 1821 was arrested as the suspected author of a defamatory letter delivered to Cosimo Andrea Sanminiatelli, the *balì* (bailiff) of Pisa of the Order of Saint Stephen. The episode, which took place inside the theatre, is regarded by historians as one of the *goliardate*, i.e. daring, provocative actions typical of the *scolari*, which were among the first expressions of the libertarian spirit leading to Italy's Risorgimento in the mid-nineteenth century [73]. The fact that the theatre was frequently the backdrop to such disorders may have contributed to the Shelleys' regarding it as "the worst in Italy" [74]. It has been argued that Shelley ignored the revolutionary ferments among the Pisan university population [75], but although it is true that he never wrote explicitly about them, there is reason to believe that he was not oblivious to what was happening on his doorstep. Indeed, Shelley referred obliquely to the current state of unrest in Pisa in his letter to Peacock of 21 March 1821, following the news of the insurrection in Piedmont, and made it clear that postal censorship prevented him from saying more:

> We are surrounded here in Pisa by revolutionary volcanoes, which as yet give more light than heat: the lava has not yet reached Tuscany. But the news in the papers will tell you far more than it is prudent for me to say; and for this once I will observe your rule of Political Silence. [76]

The Sgricci review may have been conceived as a means to ignite the dormant Pisan volcanoes by proclaiming the revolutionary power of poetry and imagination of which the *improvvisatore*'s recent performance had been a manifestation. Shelley's engagement with the Italian literary dispute over extempore poetry would then be a pretext to advance his political ideals abroad and make a material contribution to the wave of liberal revolutions that swept southern Europe in the early 1820s.

Shelley's draft review breaks off at the point where the "udienza", that is Sgricci's audience, is being described. It would seem from the final cancelled sentences that Shelley was going to single out the English residents attending the performance – who included himself and his family – for special mention. The shift in focus from the performer to the spectators is easily justified when one considers the collaborative nature

[73] Michel 1949, 19. The episode involving Francesco Danielli Panciatichi is reconstructed in Pertici 1992, 266-267, n. 42. On Danielli Panciatichi's suit to Teresa Viviani and Shelley's role in it see Varinelli 2017b, 118-119.

[74] *MWSL*, 171.

[75] Schoina 2009, 146-147.

[76] *PBSL*, II, 276.

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of Sgricci's *accademie*, where topics were provided by members of the audience. Spectators would also intervene to help the improviser remember episodes from history or mythology which were not in his usual repertoire, as Mary Shelley did during his performance in Lucca on 12 January 1821 (which she attended without Shelley) [77]. But Shelley's attention to the audience of which he was a member is peculiar to his own distinctive mode of observation as a traveller abroad, which was characterised by self-reflexivity. Discussing the works inspired by the places that Shelley visited on the Continent, Benjamin Colbert has written that for the poet "perception is always self-reflection": "Shelley continually rewrites situations where the eye does see itself, even when that vision is occluded or self-critical" [78]. Self-reflexivity characterises Shelley's vision of the human as well as the natural landscape. His first letter from Milan reveals that, upon entering Italy, he saw himself hear with apparent delight an Italian woman speaking in a language that proved "half unintelligible" to him – and this vision was decidedly self-critical. Similarly, as he wrote his review of Sgricci's tragedy, Shelley saw himself in the audience as he watched and judged the *improvvisatore*. In the latter case, the dual perception became possible thanks to the dual identity which Shelley had acquired by writing his critical piece from the point of view of an Italian, but without losing his own English voice. The Sgricci review is arguably the only instance in which Shelley embraced the hyphenated identity of the "Anglo-Italian", the cultural hybrid Mary Shelley retrospectively defined as characterised by the ability to appreciate the Italians' "native talent" [79]. On this account, Maria Schoina reads Shelley's decision to write his review of Sgricci's performance in Italian as an act of "culture blending" [80]. In addition to this interpretation, I want to emphasise the immediate practical aim of such a move. Writing his review in Italian, Shelley sought to establish a connection with the locals in the hope that they would be more receptive to his political ideals than the British reading public had been. The inauguration of his production in Italian with a text intended for immediate publication reveals that he began to write in a different language in order to find a new audience. Whether his decision to address his readers as an Italian would have been effective is impossible to establish, but the existence of this draft is proof that he could, and did, envision an audience for himself in Italy. At the same time, as he wrote his review Shelley began to

[77] *MWSL*, 175-176.
[78] Colbert 2005, 8.
[79] "The English in Italy", in M. Shelley 1996, II, 149.
[80] Schoina 2009, 150.

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explore some fundamental ideas of his mature work in a foreign language. After this first experiment, he continued to develop themes and images characteristic of his poetry in his self-translations and original literary compositions in Italian.

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3.
SHELLEY TRANSLATING SHELLEY

With the exception of a three-line rendering from Chaucer's "The Knight's Tale" (discussed in Chapter 4), all Shelley's known translations into Italian are self-translations. He rendered the opening lines of *Epipsychidion* (Nos. 5 and 6) and of the satirical stanzas "To S[idmouth] and C[astlereagh]" (No. 7), three passages from his "lyrical drama", *Prometheus Unbound* (Nos. 8, 9, and 10), an excerpt from his epic poem, *The Revolt of Islam* (No. 11), and the entire "Ode to Liberty" (No. 12). Despite being laid out as verse in the manuscripts, these are not poetic renditions; they thus differ from "Buona Notte", the Italian version of "Goodnight" (discussed in the next chapter), which is Shelley's only extant verse self-translation. Editors have often turned to his Italian renderings to solve textual problems and identify misprints in the first edition of the original poems, but they have otherwise tended to underrate them, finding in them the confirmation of Medwin's claim that Shelley "had not made a profound study of the language" [1]. Most commentators have also adopted a biographical approach that favours reading Shelley's self-translations as an act of private communication. As a result of such interpretations, limited attention has been paid to his command of written Italian and his skills as a translator which are displayed in these texts.

The present chapter foregrounds both these aspects. On the one hand, I ask the following questions to assess Shelley's proficiency in written Italian. Is there any indication in the texts that he availed himself of learning aids such as grammars and dictionaries while he translated? Does the language of his renderings correspond to contemporary literary Italian? Do they contain echoes of Italian poetry? Did he use regionalisms and colloquial expressions? On the other hand, I adopt an

[1] Medwin 1913, 351. For the received view of Shelley's self-translations see Chapter 1.

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evidence-based, theoretically-informed approach to evaluate Shelley's choices as a translator, focusing especially on his lexical variations from the source text, which is identified for each rendering in the course of the discussion. One major difficulty for students of Shelley's self-translations is refraining from making aesthetic judgments. Palacio did not resist the temptation, and systematically compared the poet's rendering of "Ode to Liberty" with other versions made by professional Italian literary translators to prove the superiority of Shelley's achievement [2]. Unlike Palacio, I am more interested in the process of translating than in the quality of the results. In the case of "Ode alla Libertà", this process is illustrated by the two successive versions of the text that have survived, which were conflated in previous editions and are published here for the first time separately, but all the manuscripts of Shelley's self-translations, which range in form from first draft to fair copy, show different stages of correction and revision that offer valuable clues to his way of translating into Italian.

After examining the language and solutions of Shelley's renderings, I address the question, "Why did he translate his own poems into Italian?". On the basis of manuscript evidence, I contend that his self-translations should be regarded not as finished works, but rather as sketches for a literary rendition worthy of publication. Like the Sgricci review, these texts manifest the poet's desire to find an audience in Italy. As this argument undermines the accepted biographical reading of the corpus, I propose an alternative interpretation. I explore the political aim behind Shelley's self-translations and situate them within the context of the literary debate sparked by the publication in Italy of Germaine de Staël's essay, "De l'Esprit des traductions".

3.1. The language of Shelley's self-translations

Shelley made various types of grammatical errors in his self-translations. Alongside the many uncorrected mistakes at the level of orthography, morphology, and syntax, which would be tedious as well as unproductive to enumerate, the holograph manuscripts also contain a number of authorial emendations, which are a better measure of the poet's knowledge of Italian and can also tell us something of his method of translating.

[2] Palacio 1975.

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The majority of these emendations fall into two categories: spelling corrections and lexical revisions. The former often aim to redress interferences with English. When an English and an Italian word had the same Latinate form, Shelley tended to adopt the English spelling, no doubt unconsciously, but in most cases he immediately corrected it, as in the following examples: "lab‹y›irintoso" (No. 8, 79); "atmos‹p›fera" (No. 9, 58); "s‹p›fera" (No. 12 I, 12); "Philoso‹ph›fia" (No. 12 I, 59); "Ecoe" (No. 12 I, 104; but cf. line 112 below: "echoe"); "Destru‹ct›zione" (No. 12 I, 173). Other spelling corrections reveal understanding of the principles of Italian grammar, including verb conjugation ("Lamenta‹i›sti tu" [No. 12 I, 109]), the rules of agreement ("~~La~~ ↑Il↓ stellat‹a›o sorriso" [No. 11, 667]), and the use of simple ("d‹el›i virtù" [No. 12 I, 95]) and articulated ("d‹i›al ~~peggio~~ ↑male↓" [No. 12 I, 23]) prepositions. Shelley's adherence to the rules of Italian, previously noted by Palacio, is an index of his knowledge of the basics of the language, but it may also indicate his reliance on a grammar book as he translated [3].

Shelley's lexical revisions similarly suggest that he may have had a bilingual dictionary at hand while he worked, as Murray assumed in his facsimile edition of "Ode alla Libertà" [4]. To take one example, in the draft translation from Act 2.5 of *Prometheus Unbound* (No. 8), Shelley initially rendered the verb "to float" in line 78 as "rivolgersi" ("to turn around"), then crossed it out and replaced it with the synonymic "girarsi", but struck this through as well. In the original passage, the same verb previously occurs in line 73 in the form "doth float", but Shelley did not immediately translate it, leaving a blank space in its place. At a later stage, he revised his draft in pencil and inserted the verb "fluita" (third person singular present indicative form of *fluitare*, "to drift") in the blank. He then crossed it out and wrote the corresponding form of the verb *ondeggiare* ("ondeggia") above it, also in pencil. At the same stage of revision, he replaced the rejected renderings "rivolgersi" and "girarsi" in line 78 with "ondeggiare" [5]. Presumably, this is the Italian translation of "to float" given by the dictionary he was consulting. In the rendering from Act 4 of the lyrical drama (a fair-copy transcript), Shelley opted again for the verb *ondeggiare* to render "float": "ondeggiano" (No. 10, 40). Other lexical revisions consisting of the substitution of a word with a synonym may likewise be the result of Shelley's use of a dictionary, e.g. the replacement of "massa" with "mucchio" ("heap") in No. 12 I, 120.

[3] Palacio 1975, 236.
[4] *BSM*, XXI, 455.
[5] The verb "to float" occurs again in line 83 below, but is left untranslated.

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Such authorial emendations are more easily accounted for by the reliance on conventional learning aids than by the assistance of a native speaker, which is ruled out by the grammatical errors that remain in all texts. In particular, the mistakes in Shelley's self-translations provide decisive evidence against Carlene A. Adamson's suggestion that they were made in collaboration with Teresa Viviani [6], whose Italian in her letters to the Shelleys is impeccable.

Certain types of error are worth noting even if they were not always corrected, as they denote Shelley's uncommon ease in handling the language. As observed by Murray, the poet occasionally coined words by adding the prefix *in-*, indicating negation, to already existing words, following an Italian pattern of word formation [7]. All these coinages are calques of English words. In No. 12 I, 54, for instance, Shelley first wrote "insviluppate" (literally, "undeveloped"; the source text reads "unfolded"), which he then corrected into "non sviluppate". Below (No. 12 I, 78 and 151 respectively), he coined the adverb "Immovibilmente" ("Immoveably") from the adjective *movibile* and the adjective "inreluttanti" ("unreluctant") to indicate the opposite of *riluttanti*. Shelley's attempts to reproduce English compound adjectives in Italian are another sign of his linguistic self-confidence. An early instance occurs in No. 8, 102, where he rendered "shadow-peopled" as "ombra-popolata"; in No. 10, 5, "meteor-eclipsing" is similarly translated as "meteore-eclissante". Further examples can be found in "Ode alla Libertà". In line 20 of the draft (No. 12 I), "all-sustaining" is initially rendered as "tutto-pascente", which is then rejected in favour of a relative clause, "che sostenie tutto" (the misspelling of the verb is corrected in the fair copy [No. 12 II]). Similarly, in No. 12 I, 41, Shelley's first rendering of "sister-pest" was "Sorella-Peste", but he later opted for the apposition "Una Peste, sua sorella", whereas in line 152 below he added the preposition "da" to turn the compound "Aurora-illuminato" ("dawn-illumined") into a verbal syntagm. In line 81, the choice between "terra-svegliante" ("earth-awakening"), which again was Shelley's first solution, and the phrase "svegliante la terra" seems to have been unresolved. He maintained, instead, "spirito=alata" ("spirit-winged") in line 101, "turbine-alato" ("tempest-winged") in line 138, and "spirito-instinta" ("spirit-sighted") in line 148 [8]. All these forms are neoformations, i.e. they are not previously recorded in Italian. However, as in the case of the

[6] *BSM*, VI, 58.
[7] *BSM*, XXI, 454.
[8] The form "instinta" is a calque of "instinct" (cf. Nos. 4 and 14, Fragment B).

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addition of the prefix *in-*, the combinations noun-noun ("Sorella-Peste") and noun-adjective (in the latter three examples) conform to existing patterns of word formation. Only the combination noun-participle, which is frequent in English, is not attested in the language [9]. Italian translators usually render English compound adjectives with periphrases or synonyms. Thus, for instance, of all the examples listed above Rognoni retained only "sister-pest", which he rendered, like Shelley before him, as "sorella peste". Rognoni also translated "garden islets" in *Prometheus Unbound*, 2.5.91 as "isole-giardino" [10], where Shelley had opted for the diminutive "isolette" (No. 8, 91). Unlike Rognoni, Viola Papetti made ample use of such coinages in her popular translation of Keats's *Endymion* [11].

A number of what look like mistakes to readers of Shelley's Italian renderings today were, indeed, attested forms in the early nineteenth century. This is the case with the many morphological variants of verb forms that occur in the longer self-translations. In the third rendering from *Prometheus Unbound*, for instance, Shelley conjugated the third person plural present indicative form of first conjugation verbs with the ending *-ono* instead of the standard *-ano*: "Ballono"; "cantono"; "inalzono" (No. 10, 46, 48, 68). The variant desinence *-ono* was a feature of the Tuscan speech, which is attested as early as in the writings of Lorenzo de' Medici and Niccolò Machiavelli. Similarly, the ending *-ano* used by Shelley in place of *-ono* in the same form of second conjugation verbs ("volgano" [No. 8, 106]; "accendano" [No. 9, 48]) is characteristic of Florentine speech [12]. He also conjugated the third person plural imperfect indicative form of first conjugation verbs with the ending *-avono* instead of the standard desinence *-avano* ("odiavono"; "abitavono" [No. 11, 690, 695]), again following the Florentine usage [13]. Albeit not systematic (cf., for instance: "suonano" [No. 7, 2; No. 8, 77]; "strisciavano" [No. 12 I, 13]), the occurrence of these regional variants reveals the influence on Shelley's Italian writings of the language variety spoken in the geographical area where he had fixed his residence, that is Tuscany.

[9] Rohlfs 1966-69, III, 339-346.

[10] P.B. Shelley 2018a, 713, 567.

[11] Keats 1988.

[12] Rohlfs 1966-69, II, 255. The form "nascondano" in No. 9, 51 is not to be confused with these variants. In fact, it is not a present indicative, as Locock mistakenly assumed, but an exhortative subjunctive, which effectively renders the original imperative (Locock 1903, 22).

[13] Rohlfs 1966-69, II, 287 and n. 3. Other instances occur in the prose pieces, e.g. the cancelled "elettrizzavono" and "cercavono" in No. 4 and "tormentono" in No. 15 I.

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Shelley's self-translations move between the two extremes of vernacular and literary language. Not only do they contain regionalisms, but they are also rich in the archaisms that characterised written Italian at the time. In this they are not unique. Brugnolo notes that the imitation of the spoken language and the use of the high-register literary standard are two of the most common stylistic modes adopted by foreign authors writing in Italian [14]. Shelley used the archaic third person singular imperfect indicative forms "nutria" (No. 11, 684) and "sorgea" (No. 12 I, 61) instead of the modern forms *nutriva* and *sorgeva* [15]. Once he also conjugated the first person singular imperfect indicative form of a third conjugation verb with the ending *-iva* in place of the modern *-ivo* ("nutriva", No. 11, 668), according to an ancient usage that continued to prevail in literature until the 1840 revised edition of Alessandro Manzoni's novel, *The Betrothed* [16]. Lexical archaisms are more frequent. The following are the most notable examples (others are signalled in the notes to the edition): "core" ("heart") for *cuore* (No. 5, 1; No. 11, 693; No. 12 I, 3, 30); "vote" ("empty") for *vuote* (No. 7, 2); "aere" ("air") for *aria* (Shelley's first choice in No. 8, 87; see also No. 9, stage direction before line 48, 51; No. 12 I, 4, 275); "semita" ("path") for *sentiero* (No. 12 I, 274; plural "semite" in No. 8, 106); "virga" ("rod") for *verga* (No. 10, 67; No. 12 I, 134); "conche" ("shells") for *conchiglie* (No. 11, 672); "cerebro" ("brain") for *cervello* (No. 12 I, 55, 277). All these forms are recorded in Niccolò Tommaseo's dictionary of post-unification Italian alongside their modern equivalent, which indicates that they still occurred in the written language in the second half of the nineteenth century. Therefore, Shelley's use of archaisms fully conforms to the literary standards of the time.

The poet also favoured high-register words and phrases, which were another feature of contemporary literary Italian. For instance, in No. 12 I, 180 he replaced his initial rendering of "ancestral" ("ancestrali") with "avite". This adjective, which also occurs in No. 7, 1, was used only in the written language [17]. The use of the word "vanni" ("wings"), which occurs in No. 8, 85 and No. 12 I, 281, was likewise restricted to poetry [18]. The noun "aura" (plural "aure") in No. 8, 77 and No. 10, 69, where it means "soft breeze(s)", is a calque from Latin and occurs in *Purgatorio*, 28.7,

[14] Brugnolo 2009, 55-56.
[15] See Rohlfs 1966-69, II, 287-288.
[16] Rohlfs 1966-69, II, 286.
[17] *DLI*, s.v. *avìto*.
[18] *DLI*, s.v. *vanni*.

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which Shelley had translated. A number of phrases are similarly derived from earlier Italian authors. The syntagm "marina sponda" (No. 11, 672), where "sponda" ("shore") is a poetic synonym of *riva*, occurs in Niccolò Forteguerri's mock-heroic poem, *Il Ricciardetto*, 29.305, which Shelley had read in the summer of 1820 [19]; the expression "batte l'ale" (No. 12 I, 85, 273) is used by Petrarch ("Una donna più bella assai, che 'l Sole", 97) and Ariosto (*Orlando furioso*, 2.49.7), while the construction "amore; / Che move" (No. 8, 95-96) is an echo of the close of Dante's *Paradiso*: "L'amor, che muove 'l Sole e l'altre stelle". Palacio has identified other debts to Dante in "Ode alla Libertà" [20]. Shelley's extensive use of words and phrases from the poets of the past results in his written Italian being "outdated" with respect to the contemporary literary language, as is almost invariably the case with foreign authors writing in Italian [21]. Like other non-native writers before and after him, he turned to the great works of Italian literature for a linguistic model and adopted their language, but in so doing he imparted a slight obsoleteness to his writings, of which he may, or may not, have been aware. Shelley's occasional use of a Latin in place of an Italian word, which Rogers explained on account of his higher proficiency in the former language, might be regarded as an extreme occurrence of this tendency [22].

3.2. Variations between source and target texts

The archaisms, regionalisms, and grammatical errors in Shelley's self-translations do not hinder understanding, nor do they prevent present-day readers from appreciating his skills as a translator. In this respect, the study of the extant manuscripts is especially helpful, as the cancellations and revisions in the holographs yield valuable insights into his translating technique and permit the identification of his approach to the practice of self-translation. Looking at Shelley's manuscript renderings through the lenses of translation studies evinces that they are characterised by "semantic creativity": Shelley frequently introduced creative variations at the semantic level, either adjusting the semantics of the source text or

[19] *MWSJ*, 324-327.
[20] Palacio 1975, 234, 240, 242.
[21] Brugnolo 2003, 256.
[22] Rogers 1956, 342. See the notes to the texts in my edition for examples from both self-translations and original compositions.

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moving beyond its semantic field [23]. A variation within the same semantic field as the original, or "creative adjustment", occurs in the first rendering from *Epipsychidion*. Manuscript evidence (discussed below) indicates that both translations from the poem are based on its draft in the notebook that also contained them, now shelf-marked as Bodleian MS. Shelley adds. e. 12. The first self-translation shows that Shelley initially followed his source text closely, beginning it with "Nel tempio del mio core", which is a literal rendering of the phrase "In my hearts temple" in the opening line of the English draft on page 38 of the notebook ("my" is cancelled and replaced with "the" here, but Shelley reinstated it in the published version, where lines 1-2 and 3-4 of the draft are transposed). After crossing out this first attempt, he started again with greater liberty and wrote "Sul altare del mio core" ("On the altar of my heart"); moving further away from a literal rendering, he finally revised it into "Sul altare del nostro amore" ("On the altar of our love"). As well as revealing the creative component of Shelley's self-translational activity, his progressive departure from the original semantics in this rendition disproves the claim that the direction of the translation was from Italian into English [24].

A number of variations in the longer self-translations result in an intensification of the semantics of the source texts. In the first excerpt from *Prometheus Unbound*, for instance, Shelley intensified the semantic value of the original by rendering the positive adjective "calm", which refers to "Wildernesses", as a superlative, "silentissimi" (No. 8, 107). Lexical intensification is a prominent feature of the rendering from *The Revolt of Islam* (No. 11), which has the appearance of an intermediate fair copy. In line 679, "the dead" is qualified first as "un amico morto" ("a dead friend") and eventually, upon revision, as "un amato morto" ("a dead loved one"); in line 694 below, "The land in which I lived" becomes "La patria mia" ("My fatherland"). Both variations connote a greater sense of affection than the original. In line 689, the generic term "ruin" is translated as "sacrificatore" ("sacrificer"), which belongs to the same semantic field as the subject, "Vittime" ("Victims"), and reinforces it. Likewise, in the following line, the neutral "state" is rendered as "schiavitu" ("slavery"), which forms a *figura etymologica* with "schiavi" ("slaves") in the same line and thus further strengthens the original description of a subjugated country. Similar semantic shifts, or "creative

[23] Jones 2011a, 141.

[24] *PS*, IV, 187. For this as for the other rendering from *Epipsychidion*, the inferior number of corrections in the English lines further indicates that they were composed first.

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transformations", occur in lines 693-695, where "my youth" is rendered as "mio desolato core" ("my desolate heart"), "bane" becomes "peste" ("plague"), and "withered up" is translated as "marchiata" ("marked", "stigmatised"). Overall, Shelley's semantic creativity combines with his reduced use of qualifiers ("wild", "cheerly", and "all" in lines 672, 673, and 688 are omitted) to render the self-translation more dramatic than the English version.

A similar effect is achieved in the second stanza of "Ode alla Libertà", where "nurse" in line 28 is rendered as "madre" ("mother"). As noted by Palacio, this lexical choice evokes the figure of Mother Earth in *Alastor* and *Prometheus Unbound*, introducing an intertextual reference that is not in the original [25]. Another semantic shift occurs in line 44 of the draft. The metaphor of the stain ("with the stain their inmost souls are dyed") is replaced by that of poisonous food ("loro intime anime sono invelenate di questo cibo"), which complements, and reinforces, the image of the anarchs and priests feeding on gold and blood in the previous line. The third major creative transformation introduced in the text of "Ode alla Libertà" is the rendering of "pursued" as "vinto" ("defeated") in line 178. Initially, Shelley seems to have attempted a literal translation, as indicated by the unfinished word "perseguit" in the draft, which could be the beginning of either *perseguitato* or *perseguito* (the latter being a literary variant of the former) [26]. Both past participles would have rendered the meaning of the verb "to pursue" in this context, i.e. "to persecute; to harass, worry, torment" (*OED* 1a) [27]. The passage refers to Napoleon ("The Anarch" of line 175), whom Shelley depicted as being tormented by his past, embodied by the representatives of the *ancien régime* ("victor kings in their ancestral towers", 180) who had exiled him to St Helena. After cancelling the incomplete verb, Shelley replaced it with "vinto", which, however, connotes a sense of finality that contrasts with the idea of process inherent in the English "pursued". In the Italian translation, Napoleon is no longer being persecuted by his enemies: they have vanquished him. Since, in the following line, the defeated Napoleon is further described as resting with "dead, but unforgotten hours" ("morte ma non mai obliate ore"), "vinto" may be understood to mean that he, too, is dead. The variation would then reflect a change in the historical circumstances to which the passage refers, meaning that the draft self-translation was completed after Shelley had heard the news of Napoleon's death on

[25] Palacio 1975, 237.
[26] *DLI*, s.v. *perseguire*.
[27] F.S. Ellis's gloss, "accompanied or attended", seems inexact (Ellis 1892, 539).

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5 May 1821, i.e. no earlier than 7 July [28]. This possibility has significant implications regarding the motivations behind Shelley's self-translational activity and the aim of this rendition in particular, which are explored in the next section.

Other additions and variations at both the lexical and the syntactic level indicate that Shelley strove for clarity in his self-translations. For instance, in No. 8, 108, he added the specification "di belta" ("of beauty") to the original line ("Peopled by shapes too bright to see") to define the nature of the shapes' brightness: "Popolati da forme troppo radianti di belta, da vedere". In No. 11, he first rendered "shade" in line 684 literally as "ombra", but then cancelled it and replaced it with "fonte" ("source"), which renders the meaning of the line clearer. Koszul further observed that Shelley translated the ambiguous "in the grave" in line 692 as "anche al di la della tomba" ("even beyond the grave"), a near paraphrase which likewise clarifies the meaning of the source text [29]. Such emendations also involve accidentals, as in lines 690-692, where Shelley added punctuation that is not in the source text:

> […] e schiavi che odiavono loro schiavitu,
> E pure, lusignando Potere, dava a suoi ministri
> Un trono di giudizio anche al di la della tomba.

He thus avoided syntactic equivocation, but lost the effect of the original, where the omission of "the three commas required by grammar […] secure[s] rapidity of passage to the final proposition" [30]. This example shows that Shelley was more interested in ensuring that the meaning of his verses was correctly understood than in producing a stylistically polished rendition.

The manuscripts of "Ode alla Libertà" and the *Prometheus Unbound* translations mirror the layout of the first edition of the originals, included in *Prometheus Unbound: A Lyrical Drama in Four Acts, with Other Poems* (1820), suggesting that this volume served as Shelley's source text. Each rendering contains variants that correct errors of the press in the *editio princeps*, again avoiding possible confusion or misinterpretations. They have thus proved useful to suggest, or confirm, emendations to the English poems, especially since Shelley's "formidable list" [31] of errata in *Prometheus Unbound* is lost. So, in No. 8, the adverb "sempre"

[28] *PS*, IV, 368.
[29] Koszul 1922, 476, n. 10.
[30] P.B. Shelley 1876, 132, n. 1.
[31] *PBSL*, II, 257.

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("always") translating "for ever" at the end of line 78 indicates that this should have been printed as one word, "forever", in the first edition of the lyrical drama. Conversely, "for ever" in No. 9, 65 is correct, for it was rendered as "per giammai" ("for all time"). The different translation confirms Shelley's distinction in meaning identified by Geoffrey Matthews: "forever = continually, for ever = eternally" [32]. Moreover, the rendering "membra" in No. 9, 54 indicates that the reading "lips" in the 1820 edition is an error for "limbs", validating the emendation introduced by Mary Shelley [33]. Shelley made the same correction in his presentation copy of *Prometheus Unbound* to Leigh Hunt [34]. The 1820 edition of the poem also reads "Have" in line 58 of Act 4, which, given its singular subject ("The voice" in line 57) is correctly rendered as "Ha" ("Has") in No. 10, confirming Rossetti's emendation [35]. Moving to the translation of "Ode to Liberty", Shelley added the necessary semi-colon at the end of line 41, which is missing in the *editio princeps*; at the end of the following line, he replaced the original semi-colon with a comma, and in stanza 4 he moved the full stop incorrectly printed at the end of line 50 to the end of line 51 (a correction he also made to the original in Hunt's presentation copy of *Prometheus Unbound*) [36]. Furthermore, the rendering of "love" as "dottrina" in line 113 confirms, as Palacio noted, that "love" is an error for "lore" [37]. Shelley seems to have wanted to highlight his correction in translation for future reference, as the word "dottrina" is partly underlined in the manuscript. Similarly, the use of the plural imperative form "sigillate" ("seal") in line 194, the object of which is "Tutto ciò che voi avete pensato e fatto" in the following line, indicates that in the 1820 reading "impress us from a seal", "us" is an error for "as". Finally, in line 80 the first edition reads "The voices of thy bards and sages thunder", where "thy" is an error for "its", since the reference is to "Athens" (61), not to Shelley's addressee, Liberty [38]. Being, of course, sure of the meaning of this (his) line, Shelley unhesitatingly translated it as "Le voci dei suoi [*its*] poeti e savi tuonano". But right above the *s* of "suoi" a "t" is traced, which is the beginning of the Italian equivalent of "thy", *tuoi*. Shelley must have noticed the reading "thy" in the 1820 volume and dutifully started to

[32] *PS*, II, 478, n.
[33] P.B. Shelley 1839, 76. The variant in the Italian self-translation was noticed by Koszul 1922, 472, n. 3.
[34] *BSM*, IX, cxii. Hunt's copy is at the Huntington Library (RB 22460).
[35] P.B. Shelley 1870, I, 363.
[36] Chernaik 1972, 207.
[37] Palacio 1975, 242.
[38] Shelley's draft reads "its" (Bodleian MS. Shelley adds. e. 6, p. 129 *rev.*).

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correct his translation before realising that because the printed text was incorrect the emendation was unnecessary. This abandoned correction provides decisive evidence that Shelley's self-translation was made on the first edition of "Ode to Liberty" in the *Prometheus Unbound* volume, reinforcing the supposition that this was the source text of his renderings from the title poem as well.

The self-translation from *The Revolt of Islam* is probably also based on the printed text of the epic. The passage Shelley decided to recast into Italian is identical in both the editions he supervised, *Laon and Cythna; or, The Revolution of the Golden City: A Vision of the Nineteenth Century* (1818 [*for* 1817]) and *The Revolt of Islam: A Poem, in Twelve Cantos* (1818), so it is impossible to determine which one served as his source text solely on the basis of internal evidence. However, we know that he had at least one copy of *The Revolt of Islam* in Italy, which he gave to Mrs Mason [39]. Moreover, on 16 February 1821 he asked his publisher, Charles Ollier: "Is there any expectation of a second edition of the 'Revolt of Islam'? I have many corrections to make in it, and one part will be wholly remodelled" [40]. This letter suggests not only that Shelley had his personal copy of *The Revolt of Islam* with him as well, but also that he had recently re-read it. Therefore, it seems likely that *The Revolt of Islam*, and not *Laon and Cythna*, was the source text of his self-translation. Like the ones from the *Prometheus Unbound* volume, this rendering corrects the published version of the original in more than one place. In line 675, the 1818 text of *The Revolt of Islam* reads "spirits'", which Shelley translated as "del spirito", legitimising the widely accepted emendation "spirit's" [41]. He also rendered "power" in line 691 as "Potere", restoring the capitalisation used in the draft of that passage on Bodleian MS. Shelley adds. e. 19, p. 46. Shelley may have written to Ollier after spotting these errors of the press while translating. However, I concur with Jack Donovan that "by 'corrections' [Shelley] means improvements rather than the putting right of mistakes". On 25 September 1821, he made a second enquiry with Ollier, stating explicitly that he "could materially improve that poem on revision" [42]; possibly, Shelley's planned changes were suggested to him by the creative variations he had introduced in the Italian version, which undeniably improve the poem.

[39] This copy is now in the Harry Ransom Center Book Collection at the University of Texas (An Sh44 818ℓba).

[40] *PBSL*, II, 263.

[41] See *CPPBS*, III, 691 for a historical collation.

[42] *PS*, II, 18; *PBSL*, II, 354.

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If Shelley may have intended to incorporate the changes he had made in translating *The Revolt of Islam* into a new edition of the poem, it seems possible that the variants in the rendering from "To S[idmouth] and C[astlereagh]" did find their way back into the original. As is the case with the translations from *Epipsychidion*, material evidence (discussed below) indicates the holograph fair-copy transcript of the poem in Bodleian MS. Shelley adds. e. 12 as the source text of this rendering, which is drafted in the same notebook. A second fair copy of "To S[idmouth] and C[astlereagh]" was once contained in Houghton MS. Eng. 258.2, also known as the "larger Silsbee notebook", a repository of safe-keeping copies of substantial poems destined for publication. Mary Shelley seems to have removed it from the notebook after Shelley's death, and it has since been unlocated [43]. The first edition of the poem, published by Medwin in *The Athenæum* for 25 August 1832, is supposedly based on this lost fair copy, which Medwin must have seen during one of his visits to the Shelleys in Pisa [44]. Medwin's version differs from the holograph in Bodleian MS. Shelley adds. e. 12 in a few points, all of which are in the lines Shelley recast into Italian [45]. Indeed, the two most significant differences coincide with variations in the self-translation. The phrase "from their ancestral oak" in line 1 of the holograph reads "from an ancestral oak" in the text published by Medwin, where the article "an" corresponds to "una" in the Italian version. Here, Shelley was going to maintain the possessive adjective at first and translate "from their" literally as *dalla loro*; in fact, he wrote the first part of the articulated preposition, "dal", but then crossed out the "l", obtaining the simple preposition "da", which takes an indeterminate article. In the following line, Medwin's edition reads "sound", which is the etymological equivalent of the Italian rendering "suonano", in place of the holograph "wind". My conjecture is that Shelley's self-translation led him to make changes to the English poem, which he reported in his safe-keeping copy of it. Medwin is a notoriously unreliable source, but in this case the variants in his edition could be authoritative.

Shelley's rendering of his verses into Italian was a creative process, which may have prompted him to revise the original poems as well. However, close scrutiny of the manuscripts of his self-translations evinces a

[43] *MYRS*, V, xxviii-xxix.

[44] *PS*, III, 181. Medwin stayed with the Shelleys from 22 October 1820 to the end of February 1821 and again between mid-November 1821 and March 1822 (*MWSJ*, 337-354, 383-401).

[45] See *PS*, III, 183 for a collation. The variant reading in line 7 is probably a mistranscription (*PS*, III, 181).

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greater preoccupation with conveying the sense of the source text in a clear and exact way than with achieving either grammatical correctness or stylistic refinement in the target text. Shelley's repeated failure to translate speaker headings, scene descriptions, and stage directions in the renderings from *Prometheus Unbound* and omission of the author's note to line 92 in "Ode alla Libertà" further suggest that he was primarily concerned with the verse and had little interest in the paratextual elements. These considerations point to the actual use that the self-translations may have had in his intentions.

3.3. Translate yourself and someone will translate you

The preceding analysis of Shelley's self-translations does not mention poetic features. The reason for this is simple: there are none. Except possibly for the second rendering from *Epipsychidion*, which might be an attempt at *terza rima* (its unfinished state prevents certainty), Shelley's self-translations have neither metre nor rhyme scheme. Compare, by way of example, the first stanza of "Ode alla Libertà" (given in a cleaned-up version of the fair copy) with the corresponding passage from the first edition of "Ode to Liberty":

Un popolo glorioso vibrava di nuovo
Il fulmine delle nazioni. Libertà
Da core a core, da torre a torre, a traverso la Spagna
Spargendo per l'aere contagiosa luce,
Balenò – Mia anima spezzava i ceppi del suo timore,
E si vesti esultante e fiera
Colle piume rapide di armonia
Battendo l'ale in canto sopra l'usata preda,
Come una aquila se ruota fra le mattutine nuvole.
Finchè dal suo posto nel cielo della fama
Il turbine dello Spirito lo rapiva, ed i raggi
Della piu remota sfera di vivente flamma
Che strisciavano il vano, erano spinti dietro a lei
Come spuma d'una rapida prora – quando venne
Una voce dal profondo – Io la canterò.

A glorious people vibrated again
The lightning of the nations: Liberty
From heart to heart, from tower to tower, o'er Spain,
Scattering contagious fire into the sky,

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Gleamed. My soul spurned the chains of its dismay,
And, in the rapid plumes of song,
Clothed itself, sublime and strong;
As a young eagle soars the morning clouds among,
Hovering in verse o'er its accustomed prey;
Till from its station in the heaven of fame
The Spirit's whirlwind rapt it, and the ray
Of the remotest sphere of living flame
Which paves the void was from behind it flung,
As foam from a ship's swiftness, when there came
A voice out of the deep: I will record the same. [46]

The self-translation is laid out in the same way as the source text, but the words at the end of the lines do not rhyme, nor do the lines conform to any metrical pattern. The same is also true of the other renderings: they are not poetic translations. So, what are they? And why did Shelley make them? To answer these questions, one must first consider the origin and development of his self-translational activity.

Shelley seems to have moved from virtually improvised translations, started for fun, as it were, and put aside after few lines, to longer, more carefully crafted renditions, which manifest his growing self-confidence as a translator into Italian. The two renderings from *Epipsychidion* and the one from "To S[idmouth] and C[astlereagh]", which were all drafted in the notebook now shelf-marked as Bodleian MS. Shelley adds. e. 12, likely constitute his first, casual attempts. Their physical appearance and position indicate that they were made during a break in the composition of *Epipsychidion*, which Shelley started drafting in the same notebook between January and February 1821 [47]. The poem's draft on page 38 opens with two lines corresponding to lines 3-4 of the published version, followed by what would become lines 1-2 in the printed text. The position of the Italian rendering of lines 3-4 on Bodleian MS. Shelley adds. e. 12, p. 37 suggests that no sooner had Shelley drafted them on page 38 than he attempted a translation in the nearest blank space, which happened to be on the previous page (the page facing page 38 and the next one contain the draft of "Song for Tasso", dated to November 1818) [48]. Both self-translations from *Epipsychidion* appear to have been written in the very dark brown ink used for its draft opening, indicating that they were probably made during the same sitting. Moreover, the Italian text on page

[46] P.B. Shelley 1820, 207-208.
[47] *PS*, IV, 116.
[48] *BSM*, XVIII, 283.

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37 and the corresponding lines on page 38 are written with a sharper quill than both the rest of the English draft and the self-translation of lines 1-2, suggesting that either Shelley changed pen after drafting the first pair of English and Italian verses, or his quill became blunt as he wrote. Whichever the case may be, each of the two renderings seems to have immediately followed the drafting of the corresponding lines in English.

Today, some sixty miles separate the second rendering from its source text. The page on which it is written interrupts the holograph intermediate fair copy of "The Mask of Anarchy", held at the British Library, where it is shelf-marked as Ashley MS. 4086. However, the first nine leaves of Ashley MS. 4086, which include the self-translation, where once part of Bodleian MS. Shelley adds. e. 12, where they seem to have belonged consecutively between pages 48 and 57 of the notebook's present pagination. It is not known when, and by whom, they have been removed, but they were almost certainly in place at the time of the drafting of *Epipsychidion* [49]. The second self-translation from the poem thus appears to have been written on a more distant page from its source text than the first, presumably because Shelley could not find a nearer blank space in the notebook, which had been in use since at least January 1818 and by early 1821 was almost full [50]. Ashley MS. 4086, fol. 2^{r} was originally on the right-hand side of the notebook, while Bodleian MS. Shelley adds. e. 12, p. 38 is on the left-hand side; making his translation on the former, Shelley automatically started writing at nearly the same height as the corresponding English lines on the latter. This was made possible by the almost complete absence of earlier written material on Ashley MS. 4086, fol. 2^{r}, which, however, was not entirely blank. Shelley skipped that page when he fair-copied "The Mask of Anarchy" in September 1819 because it was already occupied by a pencil landscape sketch, uniquely accompanied by the holograph caption "Lake of Fondi", which identifies it as a view of Lake Fondi, near Terracina on the via Appia [51]. It can thus be dated to either the end of November 1818, when Shelley passed by this locality on his way from Rome to Naples, or early March 1819, when he travelled back to Rome along the same route [52]. The latter possibility

[49] *BSM*, XVIII, xxx-xxxi

[50] *BSM*, XXIII, 42.

[51] Nancy Moore Goslee transcribed it as "Lake of Gardi", standing presumably for *Garda* (*BSM*, XVIII, 57), but Shelley never visited Lake Garda. For a contemporary description of Lake Fondi, which is consistent with Shelley's drawing, see Waldie 1820, 17.

[52] *MWSJ*, 239, 250-251. Fondi is mentioned in Mary Shelley's account to Maria Gisborne of her journey to Naples (*MWSL*, 83).

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seems more likely; in his letter to Peacock of 23 March 1819, the poet remarked: "From Gaeta to Terracina the whole scenery is of the most sublime character" [53]. No other Italian rendering from the *Epipsychidion* draft is known to exist, but, although Shelley soon stopped translating the new verse he was composing, the evidence of the manuscript supports Webb's claim that the poem was "bilingual in conception" [54].

The most likely source text of the self-translation from "To S[idmouth] and C[astlereagh]" is also the holograph fair copy of the poem in Bodleian MS. Shelley adds. e. 12. As with the second rendering from *Epipsychidion*, Shelley seems to have drafted the translation on a page on the right-hand side of the notebook to keep an eye on his source text, written on a left-hand page, simply by turning the intervening leaves. In so doing, he wrote each line in Italian at roughly the same height as the corresponding English line. The translation is also laid out in the same way as the fair copy of the original, where the first four lines are not clearly indented. A small correction in this transcript may offer the definitive proof of its being the source text of Shelley's rendering. In line 1, the final *r* of "their" appears to have been retraced for clarity at a later stage with a darker ink, which is seemingly identical to the one used for the translation. The only extant draft of "To S[idmouth] and C[astlereagh]" is dated to late October - early November 1819 [55]; presumably, this was immediately fair-copied into Bodleian MS. Shelley adds. e. 12. It seems unlikely, instead, that Shelley attempted an Italian version of his poem at that time. First, there is no evidence that he had any interest in writing in Italian in the autumn of 1819, when he was busily employed in the composition of his "*popular songs* wholly political" [56]. Moreover, the fact that he skipped several pages and drafted his translation over an earlier entry (a pencil draft of the third stanza of "The world is dreary", dated to July 1819) suggests that no available space was left in the notebook, which points to a time of composition within the last stage of its use, i.e. late 1820 - early 1821 [57]. Ink evidence seems to corroborate this dating. Of all the entries in the surviving pages of the notebook (including the removed leaves now part of Ashley MS. 4086), the only other items written in the very dark brown ink used for this self-translation are the draft opening of *Epipsychidion* and its two renderings into Italian, which, as

[53] *PBSL*, II, 83-84.
[54] Webb 1976, 304.
[55] *PS*, III, 181-182.
[56] *PBSL*, II, 191.
[57] *PS*, II, 707; *BSM*, XVIII, xxi.

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has been argued above, were likely composed in one sitting at the end of January or in early February 1821. It seems probable that in the same sitting Shelley also jotted down his translation of "To S[idmouth] and C[astlereagh]". Bodleian MS. Shelley adds. e. 12 contains mainly drafts, so, should Shelley have wanted to try his hand at Italian translation once again after rendering the first lines of the *Epipsychidion* draft, he may well have chosen his source text from among the few polished items in the notebook, regardless of its subject.

All three self-translations that Shelley drafted in Bodleian MS. Shelley adds. e. 12 have an unpremeditated appearance which suggests he did not have any particular reason for making them, other than, perhaps, the desire to imitate Tommaso Sgricci's extempore verses, which he had recently enjoyed in Pisa. It is unlikely that he was going to translate the whole of *Epipsychidion* into Italian, as Trelawny claimed he did, for the poem was still largely to be written when he rendered its opening draft lines. The blank in the third line of the self-translation from "To S[idmouth] and C[astlereagh]" and its abrupt interruption halfway through the following line further suggest it was nothing more than a semi-serious improvisation, as they reveal that Shelley did not have a dictionary at hand which could furnish him with the Italian equivalent of the word "croak" in line 3 and an adjective corresponding to "noonday" in line 4, where he seems to have realised that the noun *mezzogiorno* could not function in the same way.

After these short, fragmentary attempts at translating some manuscript verses into Italian, Shelley appears to have turned to his two major poems to date, *Prometheus Unbound* and *The Revolt of Islam*, from which he translated longer excerpts. The identification of the first edition of *Prometheus Unbound* as Shelley's source text establishes 16 October 1820, when he received his copy of the volume [58], as the earliest possible date for his translations from the lyrical drama, while the position of the rendering from *The Revolt of Islam* suggests it postdates them. Two of the *Prometheus Unbound* translations, Nos. 9 and 10, are fair copies, and they are contained in Bodleian MS. Shelley d. 1. Internal evidence indicates that No. 9 would have continued with a clean transcript of the draft rendering of the following lines, i.e. No. 8, which, presumably, had already been written. Only one page intervenes between No. 9 and No. 10, which, in turn, is closely followed by the rendering from *The Revolt of Islam* (No. 11) in the notebook's present reversed direction. The sequence in

[58] *MWSJ*, 334-335.

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which the three translations appear in Bodleian MS. Shelley d. 1 likely corresponds to the order in which they were fair-copied into it and, in the absence of contrary evidence, it may also be assumed to reflect their order of composition. The last entry in this sequence, the rendering from *The Revolt of Islam*, immediately precedes the drafts of the Advertisement and conclusion of *Epipsychidion*, which are scattered with Shelley's attempts to form the word "Epipsychidion" (his own coinage). The word is spelled in its entirety only on folio 103[r] *rev.*, where it is written sideways over part of the translation from *The Revolt of Islam*, which, therefore, must already have been in the notebook. So, the *terminus ante quem* for this translation as well as the three presumably earlier ones from *Prometheus Unbound* can be established as 16 February 1821, when Shelley sent the press copy of *Epipsychidion* to Ollier [59].

Material evidence points toward the latter part of the possible period of composition I have identified. The notebooks in which Shelley wrote his Italian renderings contain most of the surviving portions of the *Epipsychidion* draft and seem to have been used in the same sequence for both the composition of the poem and his self-translational activity, suggesting that this was concurrent with the drafting of *Epipsychidion* in January and February 1821 [60]. Shelley wrote the opening lines of the poem in Bodleian MS. Shelley adds. e. 12, where he immediately recast them into Italian and also translated part of "To S[idmouth] and C[astlereagh]". He then moved to Bodleian MS. Shelley adds. e. 8 to transcribe the first lines and draft the bulk of *Epipsychidion*; in the same notebook, he also drafted his rendering of Asia's lyric from Act 2 of *Prometheus Unbound*. Finally, he wrote the conclusion and Advertisement of the poem and found its title in Bodleian MS. Shelley d. 1 (the draft in Bodleian MS. Shelley adds. e. 12 is entitled "To the noble lady Teresa Emilia Viviani", which he eventually adapted as subtitle), where he fair-copied his other renderings from *Prometheus Unbound* and *The Revolt of Islam*. The sequence in which the texts are presented in my edition corresponds to this proposed order of composition, reflecting the progress of Shelley's self-translational activity from short, incomplete attempts to longer, more polished renditions.

The dating of Shelley's self-translations to the time of the composition of *Epipsychidion* is consistent with the supposition that his rendering from *The Revolt of Islam* suggested to him the possibility of a second revised edition of the poem, as he enquired about it with his publisher in the letter enclosing the press copy of *Epipsychidion*. It also lends support

[59] *PBSL*, II, 262.
[60] On the drafting of *Epipsychidion* across different notebooks see Tokoo 1993.

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to the claim that his self-translational activity was triggered by his experience of Italian extempore poetry in the months of December 1820 and January 1821. Only the rendering of "Ode to Liberty" may have been completed long after *Epipsychidion* was finished and released for publication. As has been argued above, this rendering is also based on the first edition of the poem in the *Prometheus Unbound* volume; therefore, as is the case with the self-translations from the lyrical drama, the earliest possible date for its composition is 16 October 1820. While no *terminus ante quem* can be established with certainty, the internal evidence discussed in the previous section suggests that Shelley was working on the draft of this self-translation in July 1821, when news of Napoleon's death reached him in Pisa. This possibility is compatible with the evidence of the paper. Unlike Shelley's other Italian renderings, both draft and fair copy of "Ode alla Libertà" are written on loose leaves. Paper bearing the same watermark, and with comparable measurements, was in use in the Shelley household over a period of time spanning from September 1820 to at least April 1821 [61]. It is also worth remembering that Shelley was still engaged in writing in Italian in August 1821, when he wrote two letters to Teresa Guiccioli and revised "Buona Notte" for publication.

Early commentators described Shelley's renderings from *Prometheus Unbound* and *The Revolt of Islam* as prose translations [62]. To be more accurate, they are line-by-line translations in which a line of prose corresponds to each line of verse. There is a term for this type of translation in Italian: *traduzione alineare* (from the French *alinéa*, "paragraph"). Gianfranco Contini defined it as "Una sorta di corrispondenza determinatamente prosastica, non già in prosa […], ma cercata membro per membro poetico" [63]. The most common way of rendering English iambic pentameters into Italian today is by means of a *traduzione alineare*, but it was not so in the nineteenth century, when an unwritten rule prescribed that a foreign closed form had to be translated as an Italian closed form; so, for instance, iambic pentameters had to be rendered as hendecasyllables [64]. This means that Shelley's renderings would not have been published as they stand. Nonetheless, I maintain that publication was his objective as he set about translating samples of his poetry from *The Revolt of Islam*

[61] *BSM*, XXI, 454, 461.

[62] P.B. Shelley 1862, 98; Locock 1903, 22.

[63] Contini 1974, 373. "A kind of determinedly prose correspondence, which is not itself prose […], but is based on the individual poetic units [*i.e. the lines and stanzas of the source text*]".

[64] Rognoni 2009, 97; Contini 1974, 372.

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and the *Prometheus Unbound* volume into Italian. The superior length and polishedness of these renderings compared with his first attempts and the fact that he fair-copied them seem to support this hypothesis.

Shelley may have made his translations in the hope of finding a professional literary translator, or a writer, willing to set them to poetry. Vincenzo Monti, "gran traduttor dei traduttor d'Omero" ("great translator of Homer's translators"), reportedly proposed this type of collaboration to Byron. According to a letter from Ludovico di Breme to Germaine de Staël, upon meeting Byron in Milan in 1816 Monti declared himself willing to translate his poems into Italian, provided that he was supplied with a literal rendition of the original, as he could not read English. Byron was much flattered by the offer [65]; Monti had adopted the same method to make his celebrated translation of the *Iliad* (1810), to which the satirical epithet I have just quoted (from an epigram attributed to Ugo Foscolo) refers [66]. Shelley may have looked for a volunteer who would similarly convert his self-translations to poetry among, or through, his Pisan acquaintances, who included literati and amateur writers, and he may likely have turned to Rosini to arrange their publication in Italy, as his firm (named Niccolò Capurro after his foreman) had published numerous translations of contemporary English literature, including Foscolo's version (signed "Didimo Chierico") of *A Sentimental Journey* in 1813 and Michele Leoni's rendition of Byron's *Lament of Tasso* (with parallel English text) in 1818 [67].

If such were indeed Shelley's intentions, they might seem wildly optimistic, but it should be kept in mind that at the time of his residence in Italy the literary debate between Classicists and Romantics was still raging. This debate had been sparked by Staël's essay "De l'Esprit des traductions", which had been translated into Italian by Pietro Giordani and published in the first issue of the *Biblioteca italiana* in January 1816 with the title "Sulla maniera e la utilità delle traduzioni". In her essay, Staël invited Italian men of letters to translate less from the classics and more from contemporary German and British poets, so as "to introduce a new literary genre to their countrymen" and get rid "of certain commonplace forms that literature maintains as the official parlance of

[65] Di Breme 1966, 387-388.

[66] Foscolo 1961, 446.

[67] Rosini's firm distinguished itself for the use of the types designed by the Frenchman Firmin Didot, and the phrase "with the types of Didot" often appeared on the title-pages of his publications, sometimes in place of the publisher's name, as in the first example above and in the first edition of *Adonais* (1821). Shelley appreciated the "great beauty" of the types (*PBSL*, II, 304).

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society" [68]. Shelley was the ideal candidate for an Italian translation, but, given his limited popularity both in Britain and abroad, he may have found it necessary to encourage it by facilitating the task of the translator. Admittedly, the poet took no interest in the contemporary literary wars of words [69], but he may have sought to turn this particular situation to his advantage in order to find an audience in Italy.

As early as 1817, Shelley had expressed approval and admiration for the widespread popularity that Mary Wollstonecraft had achieved in continental Europe thanks to the translation of her works:

> It is singular, that the other nations of Europe should have anticipated in this respect the judgment of posterity, and that the name of Godwin, and that of his late illustrious and admirable wife, should be pronounced, even by those who know but little of English literature, with reverence; and that the writings of Mary Wollstonecraft should have been translated and universally read in France and Germany, long after the bigotry of faction had stifled them in our own country. [70]

Shelley may similarly have hoped to find readers abroad after failing at home. Stephen C. Behrendt has shown how, after the publication of the *Prometheus Unbound* volume in the summer of 1820, Shelley lost confidence in his ability to reach a wide audience and thus have an impact on British public opinion [71]. His poetic self-confidence was further shaken by the comparison with Byron, which would become inescapable after the latter's arrival in Pisa in early November 1821 [72]. Indeed, in rendering his poems into Italian, Shelley seems to have wanted to emulate Byron as well, whose works were immediately published in Italian translation. If, at first, Byron was flattered by this reception, he soon grew impatient with his translators, who in his view used his works to advance the Romantic cause:

> I confess I wish that they would let me alone, and not drag me into their arena as one of the gladiators, in a silly contest which I neither understand nor have ever interfered with, having kept clear of all their literary parties […]. I like the people very much, and their literature very much, but I am not the least ambitious of being the subject of their discussions literary and personal. [73]

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[68] Staël 2006, 282-283.

[69] See his comments on the Pope Controversy in his letter to Byron of 4 May 1821 (*PBSL*, II, 290).

[70] "On Godwin's *Mandeville*", in P.B. Shelley 1993, 277.

[71] Behrendt 1989, 161-162.

[72] Keach 1984, 205-206.

[73] *BLJ*, VI, 52.

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Despite his remonstrances, Byron was popular throughout Italy, and his works exerted considerable influence on the Italian reading public; this is especially true of *The Prophecy of Dante* (1821), a poem allegedly "intended for the Italians" and which, as Byron told Medwin, once translated "was looked at in a political light", as "they indulged in my dream of liberty, and the resurrection of Italy" [74].

In my view, Shelley translated his "Ode to Liberty" into Italian to show his commitment to the same "dream of liberty", that is the Risorgimento. Stanzas 14 to 18 of "Ode to Liberty" urge readers to rise against all forms of oppression in the name of freedom. More specifically, stanza 14 contains the following invocation to Italy and an appeal to the Italians to rise against their foreign (i.e. Austrian) rulers:

> And thou, lost Paradise of this divine
> And glorious world! thou flowery wilderness!
> Thou island of eternity! thou shrine
> Where desolation clothed with loveliness,
> Worships the thing thou wert! O Italy,
> Gather thy blood into thy heart; repress
> The beasts who make their dens thy sacred palaces. (204-210)

It is a characteristic Shelleyan irony that his Italian rendering of these lines is missing from the draft self-translation of the ode. Possibly, Shelley separated the leaf (a bifolium) containing the Italian version of stanzas 14-18 – the most openly subversive of the poem – from the rest of the manuscript to circulate it as a sample among its first readers, who may have included potential translators and publishers, and it was lost in this way. Indeed, this is what probably happened to most of the fair copy of the self-translation, of which only the first thirty-four lines survive on a leaf (a singleton) that "is folded horizontally as well as vertically", suggesting that the complete transcript "may have been enclosed for mailing" [75]. On this evidence, Rossington argues that "Ode alla Libertà"

> was intended to be published in an Italian periodical by way of supporting the Neapolitan constitutional government in the face of the threat of the Austrian army in the early months of 1821. [76]

[74] Medwin 1824, 159. On the reception of Byron's works in Italy in the early nineteenth century see Zuccato 2004.

[75] *PS*, IV, 97.

[76] Rossington 2018, 553. Elsewhere Rossington suggests that possible destinations could have been "the *Gazzetta di Firenze*, or the *Antologia* (a cosmopolitan literary

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While I agree with Rossington on the ultimately political goal of Shelley's endeavour, I maintain that what prompted him to seek the publication of his "Ode alla Libertà" in Italy was the change in the historical circumstances the poem refers to that seems to be reflected in the variation introduced in line 178 of the draft, i.e. Napoleon's death on 5 May 1821. Shelley repeatedly manifested the view that Napoleon had "perverted the course of revolutionary change" [77] which is traced in the ode. His death consequently appeared to him as heralding a new era of freedom and democracy, as hinted by the last two stanzas of his poem "Written on hearing the news of the death of Napoleon", which was included in the *Hellas* volume, published in March 1822, but had probably been composed soon after Shelley had learned of Napoleon's demise in July 1821. By then, the Neapolitan constitutionalists had long been crushed by the Austrians, but in the meantime the revolution had broken out in Greece, an occurrence which Shelley had prophesised in "Ode to Liberty" and he now celebrated with *Hellas*. His decision to publish the lines on Napoleon's death at the end of the same volume is revealing of the connection he saw between the two events. The Greek uprising, followed shortly by Napoleon's demise, may have further convinced Shelley of the imminence of a revolution in Italy, and he may have decided to promote it by encouraging the Italians once again to gather their blood into their hearts, and repress the beasts occupying their sacred palaces.

The textual evidence that Shelley was busy drafting, or at least revising, his "Ode alla Libertà" well into the summer of 1821 reveals the revolutionary aim of this self-translation, reinforcing the supposition that he started writing in Italian to engage publicly with contemporary Italian political events and support the Risorgimento. With the translation of his poetry, as with the publication of the Sgricci review, Shelley would have spread his radical ideals abroad taking advantage of literary disputes that had no apparent relation to politics. These works thus appear to have the same unfulfilled potential as his political poems addressed to the British reading public, such as "The Mask of Anarchy", written in the aftermath of the Peterloo massacre in 1819, but published posthumously only in 1832.

monthly, edited by G.P. Vieusseux, launched in January 1821 with an explicit commitment to publishing translations of reviews and poems from other European languages into Italian)" (Rossington 2007, 241).

[77] *PS*, IV, 369.

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4.
POETRY TRANSLATION INTO ITALIAN

The semantic creativity characterising the Italian renderings discussed in the previous chapter reflects Shelley's general approach to translation. Following Webb's groundbreaking study, *The Violet in the Crucible* (1976), the poet's sustained practice as a translator from classical as well as modern languages has been amply investigated. Shelley was a prolific and versatile translator; he rendered both great masterpieces and minor works, in verse and in prose, spanning the whole history of literature in Europe, from Homer to Goethe. Scholars concur that translation "served as a creative prompt and stimulus throughout his career" and enabled him to "transfus[e] into his own creative sensibility the vital elements of great writing in other languages" [1]. Shelley referred to his renditions reductively as time-fillers for when he found himself "totally incapable of original composition" [2], but to him translation was more than a way to keep himself busy between moments of inspiration; it was a spur to inspiration. He approached this activity as a form of creation, which could be influenced by his earlier writings and give rise, in turn, to new original compositions. This is also true of his two extant poetry translations into Italian (the sole language other than English into which he translated), which are the object of the present chapter. One is a draft rendering from Chaucer's "The Knight's Tale" (No. 3), the other is "Buona Notte" (No. 13), the Italian version of Shelley's own lyric "Goodnight", which is discussed here and not in the previous chapter because it is altogether different in kind from his other self-translations. Rather than a source poem and a target poem, "Goodnight" and "Buona Notte" constitute one poem written twice in different languages, a so-called *Doppelgedicht*, which fully realises the creative function of translation. To complete the

[1] *MYRS*, VIII, 255.
[2] *PBSL*, II, 26. See also *PBSL*, II, 153, 218.

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discussion of Shelley's translational activity into Italian, at the end of this chapter I consider his practice in relation to his theory of translation as it emerges from "A Defence of Poetry" and other places in his oeuvre, and I set his views alongside contemporary discourses on translation.

4.1. The "Knight's Tale" translation

Geoffrey Chaucer is the only author other than himself whose poetry Shelley translated into Italian. A draft rendering of three lines from "The Knight's Tale" describing its heroine, Emelye, has recently been identified in the notebook which also contains his self-translation of Asia's lyric at the end of Act 2 of *Prometheus Unbound*[3]. The proximity of the Chaucer translation to one of the fragmentary drafts of letters to Teresa Viviani (No. 2, Fragment C) suggests that Shelley may have meant to include it in one of his letters to her, as he apparently did with the Dantean sonnet "Guido, vorrei, che tu, e Lappo, ed io", which is quoted in Fragment A. The cancel-lines covering both the fragment and the translation may be an indication that he copied them elsewhere and they indeed became part of a letter to Teresa Viviani, but the incompleteness of the rendering may equally be proof of the contrary, namely, that Shelley discarded them both. In either case, the lack of contrary evidence permits a dating of the translation to the same period as Fragment C, i.e., as argued in Chapter 6, the second half of December 1820. The rendering has an extempore quality, and its position in the margin of the notebook page suggests that Shelley did not intend to translate more than he did. No other version is known to exist.

One can easily see how this translation may have been intended as a homage to Teresa Viviani (1801-1836), the young Florentine girl whom Shelley met in Pisa in late 1820, whose nickname, Emilia, coincides with the name of the protagonist of Chaucer's tale. The eldest daughter of the Governor of Pisa, Marchese Niccolò Viviani, Teresa resided as a paying guest in the Conservatorio di S. Anna, an exclusive convent school she had previously attended, waiting for her parents to arrange a profitable marriage for her[4]. To Shelley, who was "infinitely" enchanted with her, she appeared under more unfortunate circumstances than she actually

[3] *PS*, IV, 52-53.

[4] For an impassioned, though not wholly reliable, biography of Teresa Viviani see Viviani Della Robbia 1936.

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was [5]. He is also reported to have said that "she has cultivated her mind beyond what I have ever met with in Italian women", but her talents seem to have been less exceptional than he and, at least initially, Mary Shelley thought [6]. Like other members of their circle in Pisa, Teresa Viviani wrote poetry. The rendering from "The Knight's Tale" may contain a subtle allusion to one of her compositions, entitled "Sonetto, Sopra una bella pianta di Gigli dell'Autrice del presente" ("Sonnet, On a beautiful Lily plant belonging to the Authoress of the following"), which she presented to the Shelleys [7]. There is no evidence that Teresa's situation in December 1820 evoked a comparison to Chaucer's heroine, who is sought after by two suitors, as her descendant Enrica Viviani Della Robbia first argued in trying to explain the origin of her nickname, which remains unknown, although I have been able to ascertain that she already went by the sobriquet "Emilia" before making the Shelleys' acquaintance [8]. Whatever the motivation behind Shelley's translation may have been, the choice of the source text is suggestive, for it returns Chaucer's verse to its original language. In fact, "The Knight's Tale" is largely based on Boccaccio's epic *Teseida delle nozze d'Emilia*, as Shelley may have known, although the title does not figure among his reading.

Despite being short and incomplete, this rendering well illustrates Shelley's approach to poetry translation. The manuscript reveals that he attempted to replicate both the formal and the semantic features of his source text. He departed from the original semantics only in line 2, where he added the adjective "bianco" ("white") to the noun "giglio" ("lily"), presumably out of a need for more syllables in the Italian line; however, this addition creates an elegant chiastic structure with the pair "verde stelo" ("green stalk") in the same line. As for the poetic features, Shelley seems to have opted for a "mimetic form" that resembled the form of the original [9]. The first two lines are hendecasyllables, which are the nearest Italian equivalent to the iambic pentameters of the source text; moreover, the words cancelled at the end of line 1 suggest that Shelley may have tried to make it rhyme either with the following line, so as to imitate the rhyme scheme of Chaucer's heroic verse, or, less likely, with line 3, in order to create a *terza rima* tercet (the manuscript does not

[5] *PBSL*, II, 254.

[6] Medwin 1824, 281. For Mary Shelley's opinion see *MWSL*, 163, 172.

[7] Varinelli 2017b, 161-162. The holograph is preserved in the Abinger Collection of Shelley family papers at the Bodleian.

[8] Viviani Della Robbia 1959, 185; Varinelli 2017b, 121.

[9] The term is used in J.S. Holmes 1988, 26.

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present the indentation characteristic of Shelley's drafts in *terza rima*, in Italian as in English). The rendering thus meets the definition of "recreative translation" (or, in Dryden's traditional terminology, "paraphrase"), that is one that tries "to recreate a source poem's semantic and poetic features in a viable receptor-language poem" [10]. Shelley's attention to the formal aspects of this rendering distinguishes it from his self-translations and may originate from a desire to offer his dedicatee a text that could meet her refined taste – or, the refined taste with which Shelley believed Teresa to be endowed.

4.2. "Goodnight" / "Buona Notte", or Shelley's Anglo-Italian Doppelgedicht

"Buona Notte" is Shelley's only complete literary work in Italian and the only one he mentioned in his correspondence. Like the self-translations discussed in the previous chapter, it dates to 1821, but the three extant holograph versions indicate that he worked on it over a period of time that may have extended from a few weeks to several months. A two-stanza draft is written in pencil in Bodleian MS. Shelley adds. e. 17, where it follows the fragment "Orpheus" and the Sgricci review, both of which can be dated to late January 1821. As the sequence of these three entries likely corresponds to their relative order of composition, the drafting of "Buona Notte" must have taken place between the end of January and 26 August 1821, when Shelley fair-copied the lyric, complete in three stanzas, in a letter to Hunt, introducing it in a deceptively nonchalant tone as "An Italian impromptu of mine, correct the language if there should be errors, & do what you will with it" [11]. Shelley may have enjoyed playing the *improvvisatore* if not in writing, at least in defining "Buona Notte" an "Italian impromptu", but his remark clearly implies that he wished the poem to be published. He may have envisioned its inclusion in Hunt's *Literary Pocket-Book*, a diary where "Marianne's Dream" had appeared in 1818 and "The Sunset" and "Song. On a Faded

[10] Jones 2011b, 118. According to Dryden, a translation is a "paraphrase", which he identified as the *via media* between the two extremes of "metaphrase" (a literal, line-by-line translation) and "imitation" (a free version of the original), when "the Authour is kept in view by the Translator, so as never to be lost, but his words are not so strictly follow'd as his sense, and that too is admitted to be amplyfied, but not alter'd" (Dryden 1956, 114).

[11] Pforzheimer MS. PBS 0074, p. 1.

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Violet" in 1820 [12]. Hunt did consider "Buona Notte" for publication, but not in *The Literary Pocket-Book*; its title figures at the bottom of a list of items to be included in *The Liberal* that he made in one of Shelley's notebooks in October or November 1822 [13]. However, the poem never appeared in *The Liberal*.

In the last months of his life, Shelley made another copy of the poem, with minor alterations and the omission of the central stanza, on a loose leaf of the same paper used for the draft of "The Triumph of Life" and letters dated from San Terenzo in the late spring and summer of 1822 [14]. The leaf, a singleton, appears to have been folded twice horizontally and once vertically to form a pocket-size square. On the verso side are two lists of household expenses in Italian (one in pencil, the other in ink), which are written one beneath the other to the right of the main horizontal fold (at right angles to Shelley's lines on the recto side). The position of these lists indicates that they were made after the leaf had been folded at least once, though not necessarily after the copying of the poem; a comparison with holograph letters in the Abinger Collection at the Bodleian has revealed both of them to be in Jane Williams's hand [15]. It has been suggested that Shelley may have transcribed "Buona Notte" on the same piece of paper for her, "perhaps to be sung", a possibility which would account for the omission of the second stanza of the poem, where the reference to an addressee named "Lilla" "would have been inappropriate" [16]. However, it would follow from this hypothesis that Jane Williams recycled Shelley's dedication copy of "Buona Notte" to keep track of her domestic expenses, which seems unlikely, especially since she treasured all other poems he gave to her and her husband. Moreover, this supposition can hardly be reconciled with the manuscript's provenance. The leaf was preserved among the Shelley family papers at Boscombe Manor and donated to the Bodleian by Sir John Shelley-Rolls. But none of the dedication copies of Shelley's poems to the Williamses were ever returned to Mary Shelley after his death, and the only one which is now in the Shelley Collections at the Bodleian, "With a Guitar. To Jane" (shelf-marked as Bodleian MS.

[12] P.B. Shelley 2018a, 1542.

[13] Bodleian MS. Shelley d. 1, fol. 90^{v}.

[14] *CPPBS*, VII, 219-220.

[15] The samples of Jane Williams's handwriting I consulted are her two letters to Mary Shelley of September 1822 and 10 October 1822 (Bodleian MS. Abinger c. 46, fols. 3-4, 11-12).

[16] *PS*, IV, 94; *BSM*, XXI, 463.

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Shelley adds. e. 3), was presented to the library by Trelawny's heirs in 1907 [17].

An alternative possibility is that it was Shelley who recycled the leaf after it had been partially written on by Jane Williams, which may easily have happened, since the Shelleys and the Williamses had been forced to share a house in San Terenzo between early May and early July 1822. Jane may have taken the blank leaf, folded it once so as to make four pages, and used only the first for her lists. Later, Shelley may have been in a situation in which he urgently needed a loose leaf to transcribe his poem and, finding Jane's paper, one side of which was still conveniently blank, he may have decided to use it and then folded it twice more to carry it in his pocket. What such circumstances might have been is suggested by the presence of "Buona Notte" in Hunt's list of titles for *The Liberal*. My conjecture is that he included it not simply because he had been given carte blanche to publish it as he thought fit, but in consideration of a mutual agreement. Shelley may well have tried to seize the opportunity offered by *The Liberal* to publish his Italian poem, re-transcribing it for Hunt just before setting off from San Terenzo on 1 July 1822 to welcome him in Pisa, where he had arrived to launch the new periodical with Shelley and Byron [18]. As this transcript would have served as a press copy, it did not matter that something else was written on the back of the leaf. This possibility would account for Shelley's careful punctuation and underlining of the key phrase "buona notte" in the first and last line of the poem, while the omission of the melancholic second stanza might be ascribed to his different mood in that period, when he declared himself unusually serene [19]. The four issues of *The Liberal* published between 1822 and 1823 do not include any work in a foreign language (though many items are translations), but its subtitle, "Verse and Prose from the South", seems to betray a different editorial intention. After the failure of *The Liberal*, Hunt may have returned the transcript of "Buona Notte" to Mary Shelley, who preserved it with the rest of her late husband's papers (but without publishing it).

Both the 1821 and the 1822 fair-copy transcripts of "Buona Notte" are probably based on a now lost intermediate fair copy in three stanzas, which could have been on the now missing leaf following the pages bearing the draft in Bodleian MS. Shelley adds. e. 17. The first edition

[17] Barker-Benfield 1992, 177. The other fair-copy poems that Shelley gave to Edward and Jane Williams are each in a different library.

[18] *MWSJ*, 412.

[19] *PBSL*, II, 442-443.

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of the poem may also be based on this lost copy. "Buona Notte" was published by Thomas Medwin in his 1834 novel, *The Angler in Wales*, and subsequently reprinted with a few corrections in his *The Life of Percy Bysshe Shelley* (1847), where he explained that he had been shown it during his second visit to Shelley in Pisa, between November 1821 and March 1822. This is plausible, for a few pages before Medwin had described the "almost illegible" draft of "Charles the First", on which Shelley worked in January 1822, and which is in the same notebook as the "Buona Notte" draft [20]. That Medwin had access to this notebook is confirmed by the fact that it also contains his fair-copy translation of Giambattista Felice Zappi's sonnet "Per il Mosè, Colosso di marmo di Michel'Angelo nel Tempio di S. Pietro in Vincoli". So, Medwin's edition of "Buona Notte", which differs from all extant holographs in a few minor instances, is probably authoritative. However, his ungrounded remark that Shelley had learned Italian "without a grammar", which functions as an introduction to "Buona Notte" in his biography of the poet, has legitimately raised "the suspicion that he might have introduced changes of his own" [21].

For the purpose of the following analysis, I consider the three-stanza version of "Buona Notte" which Shelley released to Hunt for publication in August 1821. Like the "Knight's Tale" translation discussed above, and in contrast with Shelley's other self-translations, "Buona Notte" recreates the poetic features of "Goodnight". It has a similar rhyme scheme (ABAB CDCD DEDE), albeit less regular than the original. Shelley also seems to have tried to conform to the Italian metrical conventions by rendering the English tetrameters as hendecasyllabic lines, although only a few of them are canonical hendecasyllables (lines 6, 10, and 11; in lines 3 and 4 the stress falls on the last syllable). Despite not being formally faultless, the resulting poem has been praised for its musicality and compared to Tasso's madrigals and the canzonets of the eighteenth-century Italian tradition [22].

At the semantic level, "Buona Notte" presents a number of creative variations, which can be observed by comparing it with "Goodnight" (a literal back-translation is included in the edition at the back of this book):

Buona Notte! Buona Notte? come mai
La notte sia buona senza te?

[20] Medwin 1913, 341.
[21] *PS*, IV, 94.
[22] P.B. Shelley 2018a, 1542.

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Non dimmi buona notte; che tu sai,
La notte sa star buona da per se.

Mala notte, sola notte, senza speme,
E quella quando Lilla m'abbandona;
I cuori che si batton' insieme,
Fanno sempre, senza dir, la notte buona

Quanto male buona notte ci suona
Con sospiri e parole interrotte! –
Il modo di aver la notte buona
E mai non di dir la buona notte.

Goodnight? no love, the night is ill
Which severs those it should unite;
Let us remain together still,
Then it will be – "*good* night".

How were the night without thee, good
Though thy sweet wishes wing its flight?
Be it not said, thought, understood –
Then it will be – "*good* night".

The hearts that on each other beat
From evening close to morning light
Have nights as good as they are sweet
But never say "good night".

The first difference that emerges from the comparison is that the sequence of the stanzas in "Buona Notte" and "Goodnight" does not coincide. Stanzas 1 and 2 of the former correspond to stanzas 2 and 3 of the latter. Both pairs of stanzas contain the central question to the lyric – how the night can be good if the poet is left by his lover (lines 1-2 and 5-6 respectively) – and the answer to it, namely, that to have a good night they need to be together (lines 7-8 and 9-12). Stanza 3 of "Buona Notte" corresponds, instead, to stanza 1 of "Goodnight", as both express the concept that the night will be bad when the lovers are separated. However, the reference to "sospiri e parole interrotte" ("sighs and broken words") in line 10 of the Italian version intensifies the idea of separation conveyed by the corresponding passage of "Goodnight" ("the night […] / Which severs those it should unite", 1-2). Shelley also introduced an image of abandonment in the second stanza of "Buona Notte" (5-6), giving a melancholic note to the whole poem that is absent from the English version, which is gallant and subtly erotic. The name "Lilla" in line 6, which recurs in *Rosalind and Helen* and the fragment "Fiordispina",

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may have been derived from a character in Charlotte Dacre's *Zofloya; or, the Moor* (1806), which served as a model for Shelley's Gothic novel *Zastrozzi* (1810) [23].

On account of Shelley's semantic creativity and attention to the formal features of the poem, "Buona Notte" could be termed a "recreative translation", or even, less specifically, a "rewriting" of "Goodnight"; however, the terms "recreation" and "rewriting", as well as the generic one of "self-translation", are equally insufficient to describe it, as none of them satisfactorily accounts for the relation between the Italian lyric and its English counterpart. A thorough comparison of all the manuscript witnesses to "Buona Notte" and "Goodnight" indicates that they were conceived, and evolved, as two autonomous poems. "Goodnight" was composed in December 1819, but Shelley returned to it the following year, making substantial changes. The English version of the lyric was released for publication after the Italian version, and it appeared with "The Question" in November 1821 in Hunt's *Literary Pocket-Book* for 1822. Therefore, the first edition of "Goodnight" could not have been the source text of "Buona Notte", nor did Shelley translate from any of the manuscript copies of "Goodnight" in his possession [24]. Thus much is evidenced by the extreme roughness of the draft of "Buona Notte", which rather suggests it was composed separately from its English version. In this respect, Shelley's description of the poem as an "impromptu", and not a translation, in his letter to Hunt is telling.

"Goodnight" / "Buona Notte" can be best defined as a *Doppelgedicht*, which literally means a "double poem". The term *Doppelgedicht* has recently been used in German-language literary criticism to designate a poem of which two versions exist with the same title and on the same theme, but composed by the author in different languages [25]. Rainer Maria Rilke's late production includes a number of such poems, written both in German, his mother tongue, and in French, a language he had

[23] See Medwin 1913, 25-26 and n. 1.

[24] Five manuscript witnesses to "Goodnight" are extant, three of which were among Shelley's papers. An unfinished draft is in Shelley's 1819-1820 Huntington Notebook No. 2. HM 2177, fols. 48^{r-v} *rev.* (*MYRS*, IV, 292-295); a fair copy of the first two stanzas is preserved in Bodleian MS. Shelley adds. e. 6, p. 118 *rev.* (*BSM*, V, 248-249); the complete fair copy reproduced above is inscribed in the copy of *The Literary Pocket-Book* for 1819 which Shelley gave to Sophia Stacey on 28 December 1819, now at Eton College Library (*MYRS*, VIII, 292-293); a safekeeping copy made by Shelley in the second half of 1820 is in Houghton MS. Eng. 258.2, p. 150 (*MYRS*, V, 147); finally, the press copy for the 1821 edition is at the Pierpont Morgan Library (MA 3223; *MYRS*, VIII, 308-311).

[25] Wagner 2020, 307.

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studied as a child, but which he mastered only in his final years, after he moved to the French Valais, as was the case for Shelley with Italian. Neither version of a *Doppelgedicht* takes precedence over the other, as both are original. At the same time, they are as the parts of a whole. A *Doppelgedicht* is a poet's exploration of the same theme from two different perspectives, which depend not only on the languages used, but also on the literary traditions associated with them. Applying this definition to Shelley's lyric has one great advantage. Unlike the concepts of (self-) translation, recreation, and rewriting, which are all founded upon the idea of the (more or less close) dependence of one version of a poem on the other (namely, of the target text on the source text), the notion of *Doppelgedicht* brings the autonomy of both versions to the foreground, inducing readers to consider them independently from one another, as Shelley himself did with "Buona Notte" and "Goodnight". Adopting this notion thus helps make sense of his referring to "Buona Notte" as an "Italian impromptu"; it also places the lyric at the intersection between his self-translational activity and his original compositions in Italian. "Buona Notte" is Shelley's first contribution to a foreign literary tradition as well as his first attempt at finding a poetic voice in a new language. As such, it anticipates his literary experiments with Italian, that is his *terza rima* verses and "Una Favola".

4.3. Shelley's theory of translation

Shelley's approach to translation as it emerges from the preceding analysis of his Italian renderings corresponds to the views he expressed in various places of his works and letters and the remarks he is recorded to have made in conversation with friends, beginning with the reflections contained in "A Defence of Poetry", which the poet made almost incidentally while discussing the differences "between measured and unmeasured language" – a distinction he introduced to replace the "popular division" between verse and prose, which permitted him to treat Plato and Francis Bacon as poets:

> Sounds as well as thoughts have relations, both between each other and towards that which they represent, and a perception of the order of those relations has always been found connected with a perception of the order of the relations of thoughts. Hence the language of poets has ever affected a certain uniform and harmonious recurrence of sound,

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> without which it were not poetry, and which is scarcely less indispensable to the communication of its influence, than the words themselves without reference to that peculiar order. Hence the vanity of translation; it were as wise to cast a violet into a crucible that you might discover the formal principle of its colour and odour, as seek to transfuse from one language into another the creations of a poet. The plant must spring again from its seed or it will bear no flower – and this is the burthen of the curse of Babel. [26]

Shelley declared "the vanity of translation" on the basis of the formal features – the "uniform and harmonious recurrence of sound" – which are specific to poetry. But what he actually meant here by "translation" is revealed by a later note following the line-by-line rendering appended to his poetic version of the *Prolog im Himmel* from Goethe's *Faust*, which echoes the more famous passage quoted above:

> Such is a *literal* translation of this astonishing chorus; it is impossible to represent in another language the melody of the versification; even the volatile strength & delicacy of the ideas escape in the crucible of translation, & the reader is surprised to find a *caput mortuum*. [27]

As this note makes clear, the object of Shelley's criticism in "A Defence of Poetry" is *literal* translation (the emphasis is in the manuscript), which he dismissed as an alchemistic task. In alchemy, the *caput mortuum* is the "residuum remaining after the distillation or sublimation of any substance" (*OED* 2). The term, meaning "dead head" in Latin, derives from the alchemical symbol that was used to represent this residue, a stylised human skull [28]. Whereas an original creation is, by definition, alive, for Shelley literal translation, that is the attempt "to transfuse from one language into another the creations of a poet", can only result in useless "dead" matter. In "A Defence of Poetry", the death metaphor is implicit in the image of the violet in the crucible, but emerges later in the essay, where the idea of the impenetrable beauty of the flower recurs in one of Shelley's many definitions of poetry:

> it [poetry] is as the odour and the colour of the rose to the texture of the elements which compose it, as the form and the splendour of unfaded beauty to the secrets of anatomy and corruption. [29]

[26] *SPP*, 514.
[27] *BSM*, XXI, 82-83 (emphases original).
[28] Liungman 2004[3], 236.
[29] *SPP*, 531.

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If poetry is like the living beauty of a vegetal or human being, i.e. what escapes in the "crucible" of literal translation, the latter is no more than an investigation of "the secrets of anatomy and corruption". A literal translation is the dissection of an original poem. Hence, Shelley's adoption of a "recreative" approach to translation, one that brings life back to it, as he explained metaphorically in "A Defence of Poetry": "The plant must spring again from its seed". According to Shelley, if the source poem is not recreated in the target language, then a translation is not poetry, and serves at best as an "undelightful and uninstructive" means to communicate the "mere facts detailing names and dates and motions of the human body" to those who cannot read the original, as he wrote as early as 1816 in a fragment on learning languages [30]. Or, as his self-translations, it can be instrumental in arriving at a poetic rendition.

As the two examples previously discussed in this chapter illustrate, Shelley's approach resulted in an act of recreation at the level of both semantics and poetics. The poet's argument for using a "mimetic form" in translation is reported by Medwin:

> [Shelley] lamented that no adequate translation existed of the *Divina Commedia*, and though he thought highly of Cary's work, with which he said he had for the first time studied the original, praising the fidelity of the version – it by no means satisfied him. What he meant by an adequate translation, was, one in terza rima; for in Shelley's own words, he held it an essential justice to an author, to render him in the same form. [31]

In his English translations, the necessity of recreating the formal features of the source poem often led Shelley to employ what would now be called a "foreignising" method of translation, i.e. one that, in Friedrich Schleiermacher's terms, "moves the reader towards [the source author]". The most notable examples are his renderings in *terza rima* of Dante's *Purgatorio*, 1.1-6 and 28.1-51 (the latter known as "Matilda Gathering Flowers"). Shelley balanced his "foreignising" translation of the form of the source poem with the adoption of the opposite method of "domestication" in his lexical and syntactic choices, which can be said, instead,

[30] "On Learning Languages", in P.B. Shelley 1993, 164.

[31] Medwin 1913, 244. Shelley's view anticipates T.S. Eliot's claim that "rhymed *terza rima* is probably less unsatisfactory for translations of the *Divine Comedy* than is blank verse. […] Dante *thought* in *terza rima*, and a poem should be translated as nearly as possible in the same thought-form as the original" (Eliot 1952, 182) (emphasis original).

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to "[move] the author towards [the target reader]" [32]. According to Medwin, "Another of the canons of Shelley, was, that translations are intended for those who do not understand the originals, and that they should be purely English" [33]. I take this to mean that a translation has to be written in such a way as to be understood with little effort by its target audience, in order to be appreciated as poetry in the target language. This was the goal that Shelley set to himself with respect to his rendering of Homer's "Hymn to Hermes", which he announced to Peacock on 12 July 1820:

> I am translating in *ottava rima* the "Hymn to Mercury" of Homer. Of course my stanza precludes a literal translation. My next effort will be, that it should be legible – a quality much to be desired in translations. [34]

As his thoughts on translation were maturing, Shelley found in readability an alternative to literalness.

It follows from Shelley's view of translation as a rebirth of the source poem in the target language that the task of translation can be fulfilled only by poets. He is reported to have said this much himself: "There is no greater mistake than to suppose […] that the knowledge of a language is all that is required in a translator. He must be a poet, and as great a one as his original, in order to do justice to him" [35]. Shelley's opinion is in opposition to the argument later advanced by Walter Benjamin, who in recommending "literalness" as a way to achieve a "transparent", or, in modern terminology, "foreignising" translation, suggested that "the task of the translator" should be "regarded as distinct and clearly differentiated from the task of the poet" [36]. Shelley's defence of non-literal translation came at a time when the literal approach advocated by Benjamin was already on the rise, and "translation increasingly connoted fidelity, even literalism, in prose as well as poetry" [37]. When, in the Advertisement of *Epipsychidion*, Shelley introduced his rendering of the *congedo* of Dante's canzone "Voi, che 'ntendendo, il terzo Ciel movete" as "almost a literal translation", he was both nodding to this

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[32] Schleiermacher 1977, 74. The dichotomy between "foreignisation" and "domestication" was introduced in Venuti 1995.

[33] Medwin 1913, 246.

[34] *PBSL*, II, 213. On Shelley's choice of poetic form in this translation see Webb 2015b.

[35] Medwin 1913, 385.

[36] Benjamin 1996, 260, 258.

[37] France - Haynes 2006, 63.

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trend and, in light of his condemnation of literalness in poetry translation, anticipating any possible criticism by implicitly acknowledging the "vanity" of his attempt.

Shelley's frequent dismissal of his translational activity in his correspondence with friends is a similarly defensive move, as emerges in the following excerpt from his letter to Hunt of 16 November 1819:

> With respect to translation, even *I* will not be seduced by it; although the Greek plays, and some of the ideal dramas of Calderon (with which I have lately, and with inexpressible wonder and delight, become acquainted) are perpetually tempting me to throw over their perfect and glowing forms the grey veil of my own words. And you know me too well to suspect that I refrain from the belief that what I would substitute for them would deserve the regret which yours would deserve if suppressed.

Earlier in the same letter, Shelley had lamented Hunt's decision to translate Tasso's *Aminta* on the grounds that "it deprives us of a poet" [38]. Claiming that he did not want to be falsely modest, he then suggested that he was a worse poet than his friend by admitting that his own translations would be inferior to Hunt's. As for the image of the "veil", it is a recurrent metaphor in Shelley's works, where – as illustrated in the following chapter – it represents the limits of language in general, not only the language of translation. Writing to John Gisborne on 10 April 1822 about his recent renderings from Goethe's *Faust* and Calderón's *El mágico prodigioso*, Shelley declared himself with remarkable *sprezzatura* to be "well content with those from Calderon which in fact gave me very little trouble", but expressed dissatisfaction with his "imperfect" translations from *Faust*, adding: "No one but Coleridge is capable of this work" [39]. Coleridge was an established literary translator from German into English as well as an authority on the subject of German literature [40]; by negatively comparing himself with the older poet, as he had done before to Hunt, Shelley implied that he was not as good as him. His comments are to be interpreted less as an acknowledgement of the limits of translation *per se* than as the recognition (it matters little whether feigned or sincere) of his own limits as a translator, and, consequently, as a poet. They are a way of saying that he is not "as great a [poet] as his original". The verdict of posterity is that Shelley was wrong, and he is now regarded as one of

[38] *PBSL*, II, 153, 152 (emphasis original).
[39] *PBSL*, II, 407.
[40] Burwick 2009.

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the most accomplished literary translators of his age [41]. Hunt first paid tribute to his achievements in his introductory note to the posthumous edition of "May-Day Night", Shelley's rendering of the *Walpurgisnacht* scene from *Faust*, in the first issue of *The Liberal*, which he described as "the very highest triumph both of poetry and translation", endorsing the creative approach at the basis of Shelley's practice as a translator [42].

Shelley's view of poetic translation as a form of creation is in line with the discourses on translation as cultural enrichment that dominated the Romantic period [43]. The most prominent advocate of the importance of translation was Germaine de Staël. In "De l'Esprit des traductions", her 1816 essay inviting the Italians to translate from German and British authors rather than from the classics, Staël promoted translation of contemporary foreign literary works as a form of cultural exchange capable of revivifying the target language and generating originality within its literature:

> If we wish to benefit humankind, […] it is toward the universal that we must aspire. I would add that even if one were to understand the foreign languages, one might still experience a more familiar and intimate pleasure thanks to a fine translation done in one's own language. These naturalized beauties imbue a national literary style with new turns of phrase and original expressions. More efficiently than anything else, translations of foreign poets can protect a nation's literature from those banal modes of expression that are the most obvious signs of its decline. [44]

Staël's view of translation as the surest means to advance national literatures and, in general, cultures, derives from her belief that, as Shelley also argued, the translator must be a creator, that is, literally, a poet: "Translating a poet does not mean picking up a compass and copying the dimensions of a building. It means filling a different instrument with the same breath of life" [45]. For Staël, as for Shelley, translations contribute in the same measure as original compositions to the progress of literature, which the latter delineated in "A Defence of Poetry"; to quote him, if

[41] France - Haynes 2006, 546. For an overview of translation practices in the Romantic period see Robinson 2006 and Rossington 2018.

[42] *The Liberal: Verse and Prose from the South* 1, 1 (1822), 121. Shelley had manifested his intention to publish his translations from *Faust* and *El mágico prodigioso* in an essay in *The Liberal*, presumably investigating the "striking similarity" he discerned between the two dramas (*PBSL*, II, 407), but only "May-Day Night" appeared in the short-lived periodical.

[43] Burwick 2008, 70.

[44] Staël 2006, 280.

[45] Staël 2006, 282.

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translators are poets, then translations, like original creations, are "episodes to that great poem, which all poets, like the co-operating thoughts of one great mind, have built up since the beginning of the world" [46].

[46] *SPP*, 522.

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5.
"BARBARI ACCENTI": ORIGINAL VERSES AND "UNA FAVOLA"

Shelley's original literary works in Italian consist of some *terza rima* verses and a prose fable. Two fragments in Italian *terza rima* have been found among the Shelleys' papers which can be safely attributed to the poet and may even have been part of the same composition; on account of this possibility, which is discussed below, they are collected under the same heading in my edition (No. 14, Fragments A and B). The only manuscript witness to the first fragment is an incomplete fair-copy transcript in Mary Shelley's hand postdating Shelley's death. The second fragment is preserved, instead, as a holograph draft in the most severely damaged of Shelley's extant notebooks. As for the prose fable, "Una Favola" (No. 15), a draft and a fair copy, both holographs, survive. Scholarly consensus on these works corroborates Shelley's wry remark following the publication of *Epipsychidion* that "even [the Σύνετοι] it seems are inclined to approximate me to the circle of a servant girl & her sweetheart" [1]. Like *Epipsychidion*, his Italian *terza rima* verses and "Una Favola" have been read as a product and manifestation of his supposed infatuation with Teresa Viviani; as in the case of his self-translations, however, this biographical interpretation prevents any just appreciation of their value and, particularly, their continuity with Shelley's works in English.

I have shown in Chapter 2 how the ideas about poetic inspiration that Shelley expressed in the Sgricci review anticipated, and complemented, the observations on the nature and function of poetry contained in "A Defence of Poetry". Likewise, his literary endeavours in Italian contributed to the maturing of his thought and work. Hitherto unno-

[1] *PBSL*, II, 363.

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ticed intertextual correspondences exist between the fragments in *terza rima* and Shelley's great triptych of 1821, *Epipsychidion*, "A Defence of Poetry", and *Adonais*. Rognoni has insightfully observed that these three works form a continuum, not only because they were written almost consecutively; each of them was composed in reaction to an actual event (Shelley's encounter with Teresa Viviani, his reading of Peacock's essay "The Four Ages of Poetry", and the death of John Keats), but each soon became independent from its immediate source of inspiration and turned into a reflection on one of three aspects, or moments, of poetic composition: *Epipsychidion* is a meditation on the origin of poetry, "A Defence of Poetry" reflects on its utility, and *Adonais* on the immortality of a poem and the poet's fame [2]. Shelley's Italian verses, which are near contemporary to these masterpieces, at once informed and were informed by their metapoetic reflection. Similarly, echoes of Shelley's earlier poetry can be detected in "Una Favola", which, in turn, paved the way for "The Triumph of Life" as a reworking of the early Italian allegorical tradition. The temporary acquisition of a foreign voice allowed Shelley to explore themes and images central to his oeuvre from a different perspective. Thus, calling attention to the numerous parallels between his works in Italian and in English enriches our understanding of his artistic development, at the same time as it redresses the dominant view of his Italian corpus.

5.1. Italian terza rima and the limits of language

Mary Shelley transcribed Fragment A in Bodleian MS. Shelley adds. d. 7, one of her copybooks of Shelley's posthumous poetry and prose, between the autumn of 1822 and the autumn of 1823 [3]. This does not necessarily mean that she considered it for inclusion in her editions; in fact, in Bodleian MS. Shelley adds. d. 7 Irving Massey discerns "an attempt to glean any and all interesting scraps from Shelley's papers" rather than "to draw the material together for publication" [4]. The intended rhyme scheme of the fragment seems to be ABA B[C]B CD (the fifth line, which is unfinished, would have had to terminate with a word rhyming with "possente" in line 7); Shelley may also have tried to compose hendecasyl-

[2] P.B. Shelley 2018a, lxxii-lxxiii.
[3] *BSM*, XXIII, 55.
[4] P.B. Shelley 1969, 7.

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labic lines, but the incompleteness of Mary Shelley's transcript renders its metre difficult to determine. On the same page below the Italian fragment, Mary Shelley copied the lines beginning "Faint with love, the lady of the South", to which her transcript is likewise the only extant witness, and the first stanza of the unfinished poem known as "To Emilia Viviani" ("Madonna, wherefore hast thou sent to me"). Since the latter copy appears to have been based on the draft in Bodleian MS. Shelley adds. e. 20, it is believed that the same notebook may have contained the holographs of the preceding two items as well [5]. This possibility is supported by the multiple blanks in Mary Shelley's transcript of Fragment A; given her demonstrated ability to extract a complete and coherent text even out of Shelley's most tortured drafts (such as "The Triumph of Life" manuscript), her copy-text for this item must have been in exceptionally poor state, as only the manuscripts contained in Bodleian MS. Shelley adds. e. 20 are among Shelley's surviving papers. Bruce C. Barker-Benfield and Donald H. Reiman have identified Bodleian MS. Shelley adds. e. 20 as the notebook Captain Daniel Roberts salvaged from the shipwreck of the Don Juan; it is sometimes referred to as "Shelley's last notebook" or "Shelley's drowned notebook". Its cover, at least two complete quires, and a number of single leaves are missing, while the remaining leaves are "heavily damaged by water, mildew, and imperfect restoration" [6].

Among the few items that are still present in Bodleian MS. Shelley adds. e. 20 is Fragment B, which is, so to say, the ghost of a poem. It seems to have been part of a longer draft composition in Italian. Twelve leaves (24 pages) are missing before the first page of the fragment, folio 24^{r}, which bears ink offsets (reproduced in the Appendix to Fragment B) indicating that at least the preceding page contained more draft material in Italian (cancellations are visible) and, probably, in verse (words at the beginning of lines are capitalised). It is not unlikely that the lost draft also included the lines transcribed by Mary Shelley, as Rossington argues on account of their being written in the same stanza form as Fragment B [7]. The extreme roughness of the latter attests to Shelley's struggle to give form and expression to his poetic conception in a language he did not fully master and within the restrictions of a difficult form like

[5] *PS*, IV, 198.

[6] *BSM*, VII, 84, 112. Sir John Shelley-Rolls, who inherited the notebook, had its leaves restored and photographed between 1922 and 1926; the photo-facsimile, two copies of which are at the Bodleian (Bodleian MS. Shelley adds. e. 5 and Bodleian MS. Shelley adds. e. 27), is an indispensable tool for deciphering the manuscripts, which have since continued to fade and deteriorate.

[7] *PS*, IV, 198.

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terza rima. His handwriting is crude and hasty throughout and very few lines appear to be complete; most words are cancelled, often to the point of being illegible, and entire passages (including the whole of folio 26[r]) are crossed out, often to be rephrased elsewhere in the vain attempt to convey a certain meaning. The lines seem to have been drafted in one sitting, as they are all written in the same ink, and in the order in which they appear, which, however, may not be definitive. The embryonic stage of the fragment, combined with Shelley's grammatical and orthographical uncertainties and the poor condition of the support, poses a unique challenge to the editor and critic, so that any interpretation of these lines can only be tentative.

Fragment B and, assuming they are indeed related, Fragment A seem to have been composed before March 1821, when Shelley began fair-copying "A Defence of Poetry" in the same notebook. His transcript breaks off on the page immediately preceding Fragment B to continue on loose leaves, indicating that the pages which originally followed were already occupied, presumably by the missing portion of the Italian verse draft [8]. The earliest possible date for the composition of the two fragments, instead, cannot be established on the basis of material evidence, as the loss of a considerable number of pages prevents the identification of a *terminus post quem* for the use of Bodleian MS. Shelley adds. e. 20. On account of the structural and thematic correspondences between Fragment B and *Epipsychidion*, it has been argued that both fragments predate its completion in mid-February 1821 [9]. Shelley may have been prompted to attempt a verse in Italian *terza rima* after apparently translating what would become the opening lines of *Epipsychidion* in that form (No. 6), but given the analogies of the fragments with other works of the period, it seems more likely to me that the drafting of the Italian verse continued for some time after the completion of the poem and overlapped with the composition of "A Defence of Poetry".

Reiman interpreted the parallels between Fragment B and *Epipsychidion* as evidence that Shelley attempted to "convey some of the sentiments expressed in [the poem] directly to Teresa Viviani in her own language" (she could not read English), and he went on to elaborate that the Italian verse was

> intended as a farewell poem for Teresa Viviani – a poem telling her that neither of them ought to weep because, though they could not mate in

[8] *BSM*, VII, 92.
[9] *PS*, IV, 195.

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> the sublunar, physical world, he was preparing an ideal Paradise for her in some untrodden region of his mind where they would always find peace. [10]

The similarities between Fragment B and *Epipsychidion* are indeed remarkable, but speaking of an Italian version of the poem would be too far-fetched, since images and ideas are juxtaposed in the fragment without coherence and cohesion. Nor are the correspondences with *Epipsychidion* enough to suggest a connection of the Italian verse with its dedicatee, not least because the character of Emily in the poem does not stand for Teresa Viviani, as Reiman seems to have assumed. Certainly, the metaphor "La ombra al sostanza" ("Shadow to substance") on folio 24^{r} coincides with the description of the lover's spirit moving beside the spirit of Emily as a "shadow of that substance" in *Epipsychidion*, 137, and the rejected figure "la Luna al Sole" ("the Moon to the Sun") that immediately follows in the manuscript echoes the comparison of "the Moon" with "the eternal Sun" in lines 279-280 of the poem. Likewise, the cancelled references to "un Paradiso" ("a Paradise") and "un'isola nel Oceano superno" ("an island in the supernal Ocean") on folio 25^{v} are reminiscent of the *invitation au voyage* to "an isle under Ionian skies, / Beautiful as a wreck of Paradise" (422-423), in the final section of *Epipsychidion*. Moreover, the narrative framework of Fragment B, in which the verse is presented as the effusion of "Tirsi" (fol. 27^{r}), is analogous to the ascription of *Epipsychidion* to an "unfortunate friend" of the writer of the Advertisement. Echoes of *Epipsychidion* can also be identified in Fragment A. In particular, the "third sphere" ("terzo [*for* terza] sfera") in line 8 figures in a passage of the poem illustrating the same association of the woman's beauty with the divine as seems to emerge from the fragment:

> See where she stands! a mortal shape endued
> With love and life and light and deity,
> And motion which may change but cannot die;
> An image of some bright Eternity;
> A shadow of some golden dream; a Splendour
> Leaving the third sphere pilotless.
>
> (*Epipsychidion*, 112-117)

However, the image of the third sphere, as the one of the "swift boat" ("snella barca") in line 3 of Fragment A, is a Dantean echo that recurs frequently in Shelley's works, in English as in Italian (it is also mentioned

[10] *BSM*, VII, 92.

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in "Una Favola" as the realm of Love). Indeed, reading the *terza rima* verses alongside *Epipsychidion* evinces that Shelley's composition practice in Italian contributed to the wider exploration of a set of motifs that conveyed his mature thought and poetic vision.

This is confirmed by the correspondences between the Italian fragments and other works of the period. As well as sharing some of the imagery of *Epipsychidion*, the *terza rima* verses contain in essence ideas that Shelley would soon develop in "A Defence of Poetry". Two of the metaphors in Fragment B, "Quella l'odore – tu la stessa rosa" ("She the fragrance – you the rose itself") and, again, "La ombra al sostanza" ("Shadow to substance") (fol. 24^{r}), are reworked in the later essay, where poetry is likened to "the odour and the colour of the rose to the texture of the elements which compose it". Similarly, at the end of the first paragraph, reason is said to stand to imagination "as the shadow to the substance", like the lover with respect to Emily in *Epipsychidion*; the same comparison recurs in a later passage to illustrate the difference between the institutions and religion of Rome and those of Ancient Greece [11]. The rhetorical device of *enumeratio* that Shelley frequently used in the fragment is also largely employed in "A Defence of Poetry". Moreover, the image of the shadows that the future casts ahead expressed on folio 25^{r} ("ombre che il futuro anno / Getta davanti") is echoed in the conclusion of the essay, where poets are described as "the mirrors of the gigantic shadows which futurity casts upon the present" [12]. In the opening line of Fragment A, poetry is qualified as "incarnata diva" ("an incarnate goddess"), while a cancelled passage in Fragment B (fol. 26^{v}) reads "La rapida Poesia" ("Swift Poetry"). Both appositions can be traced back to Shelley's recent experience of the Italian art of extempore poetry; they thus link his *terza rima* verses to the Sgricci review as well as to "A Defence of Poetry".

The final, partly cancelled lines of Fragment B express one of the central tenets of Shelley's poetic thought, which is also voiced in "A Defence of Poetry"; namely, the idea that language clothes, and thus conceals, truth: "Così, vestiva in {barbari} accenti, / Il vero affetto a un {Ausonio} / Tirsi" ("Thus, Thyrsis clothed in {barbarian} accents, / His true affection for an {Ausonian}"). Writing in a foreign language of which he had an imperfect knowledge, Shelley pushed his artistic skills as well as his communicative abilities to the extreme. I maintain that the result contributed to his ambivalent view of language and enhanced his aware-

[11] *SPP*, 531, 511, 523.
[12] *SPP*, 535.

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ness of the limits, as much as the potential, of words. The inadequacy of human language to express one's deepest thoughts and feelings is a leitmotiv in Shelley's oeuvre, which can be found as early as in "Hymn to Intellectual Beauty" (1816) – "whate'er these words cannot express" (72) – and the author's note to the 1818 prose fragment "On Love": "These words are inefficient and metaphorical – Most words so – No help –" [13]. But it is only in "Ode to Liberty" (1820) that Shelley conveyed this idea by means of a garment metaphor:

> O, that the words which make the thoughts obscure
> From which they spring, as clouds of glimmering dew
> From a white lake blot heaven's blue portraiture,
> Were stripped of their thin masks and various hue
> And frowns and smiles and splendours not their own,
> Till in the nakedness of false and true
> They stand before their Lord, each to receive its due. (234-240) [14]

Finally, in "A Defence of Poetry", Shelley introduced the metaphor of the veil, or vestment, that underlies the lines in Italian quoted above to represent how poetry works: "Poetry […] arrests the vanishing apparitions which haunt the interlunations of life, and veiling them or in language or in form sends them forth among mankind". However, the veil is an ambivalent image. In the following paragraph of the essay, the same metaphor illustrates an opposite function of poetry, as this is said to "[strip] the veil of familiarity from the world". For Shelley, poetry either "spreads its own figured curtain or withdraws life's dark veil from before the scene of things" [15]. The view of language as a veil occurs once more in another of his writings in Italian otherwise different from Fragment B in content as in form, i.e. his first letter to Teresa Guiccioli, dated 10 August 1821 (discussed in the next chapter), where Shelley virtually quoted his Italian verse.

The last, incomplete sentence of Fragment B seems to identify the preceding lines (possibly including Fragment A) as words addressed by Tirsi, or Thyrsis, a poet-shepherd in classical pastoral poetry, to an "Ausonio", the ancient name of a male inhabitant of Italy. Tirsi's

[13] *SPP*, 504, n. 3. See also the madman's outburst in "Julian and Maddalo" (1818-19): "How vain / Are words!" (472-473).

[14] The same image is implicit in the reference to "the dim words which obscure thee" in *Epipsychidion*, 33.

[15] *SPP*, 532-533. For the contradictory use of the metaphor of the veil, or vestment, in "A Defence of Poetry", and its Dantean source, see Keach 1984, 24-33.

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"accents" ("accenti"), i.e. his spoken words [16], are said to sound "barbarian" and hence conceal his true feelings ("vero affetto"). This denotes an imperfect command of spoken Italian, which, however, does not mean that the speaker is a foreigner. On the contrary, in the first Idyll of Theocritus, Thyrsis, the protagonist, is a native of Sicily; Shelley may also have remembered that in Tasso's *Aminta* the character of Tirsi is a figure for the author. Moreover, Tirsi often figures in eighteenth-century Italian opera, from which Teresa Viviani likely derived the protagonist of her poem, "Il Ritratto di Tirsi", dated 1820 in the copy she gave to the Shelleys (now in the Abinger Collection at the Bodleian). Teresa's poem is clearly a portrait of Shelley, as revealed by the very name Tirsi, which rhymes with Shelley's first name, Percy; in its conclusion, Tirsi is said to be the son of Alphaea ("TIRSI / Figlio è d'Alfèa") [17], an epithet of the Greek goddess Artemis, but at the time also another name for the town of Pisa [18]. It is therefore safe to assume that in Shelley's fragment, too, Tirsi is an Italian. Indeed, according to contemporary usage, the adjective "barbarian" (*barbaro*) simply indicates that his speech is not pure Tuscan [19]. It may further be conjectured that the character of Tirsi in Fragment B is Shelley's alter ego, as he was in Teresa Viviani's poem. This possibility is not incompatible with his Italian identity; Shelley may have decided to adopt a foreign persona in his *terza rima* verses just as he had done a few weeks earlier in the Sgricci review.

The fictional situation that seems thus to be delineated in the Italian lines has a possible parallel in *Adonais*, part of which was drafted in the same notebook as contains Fragment B. In his elegy for Keats, Shelley depicted himself among the mourners as one "Who in another's fate now wept his own – / As in the accents of an unknown land / He sang new sorrow" (300-302). My conjecture is that Shelley had his recent attempts in Italian in mind when he described himself in such terms [20]. Moreover, in the following line of the elegy Urania addresses the poet's alter ego as a "Stranger"; taking this appellation in its primary meaning of "foreigner" (*OED* 1a), I submit that Shelley fashioned himself as an Italian in *Adonais*. It is even possible that the Italian identity he adopted in the poem

[16] *DLI*, s.v. *accento*, 4.

[17] Varinelli 2017b, 158.

[18] According to a legend, Pisa in Tuscany was founded by Greek colonists from the ancient town of Pisa in the Peloponnesus, on the river Alpheus (*Enciclopedia italiana* [1935], s.v. *Pisa*). In his memoirs, Carlo Goldoni recalled attending the Pisan colony of the Academy of the Arcadia, which was called "*Colonia Alfea*" (Goldoni 1935, 220).

[19] Migliorini 1960, 592-595. See also *DLI*, s.v. *barbaro*, 4.

[20] Rognoni 2019, 125 makes a similar suggestion.

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coincides with that of the shepherd Tirsi from Fragment B. In the elegy, Shelley's autobiographical character is represented as bearing a thyrsus, the main attribute of the Greek god Dionysus and his votaries:

> His head was bound with pansies overblown,
> And faded violets, white, and pied, and blue;
> And a light spear topped with a cypress cone,
> Round whose rude shaft dark ivy tresses grew
> Yet dripping with the forest's noonday dew,
> Vibrated, as the ever-beating heart
> Shook the weak hand that grasped it. (289-295)

The ivy leaves adorning the thyrsus are a symbol of poetic fame, the theme of Virgil's seventh Eclogue, which has the poet-shepherd Thyrsis as a protagonist. The poem narrates a singing competition between Thyrsis and Corydon in which the former invokes the Arcadian shepherds to crown him with ivy, but is defeated [21]. The possible allusion to Virgil's eclogue implicit in Shelley's self-description in *Adonais* is reinforced by the phonetic similarity between "Thyrsis" and "thyrsus", with which he may have played in these lines. The passage would then identify his alter ego in the poem as the Italian poet-shepherd Tirsi. Mindful of his recent experiments with the foreign language, Shelley may have presented himself as an Italian versifier in *Adonais* to distinguish his character from the other poet-mourners and reinforce his self-portrayal as an outcast from the contemporary English literary scene.

The hypothesis of a correspondence between the character of Tirsi in Fragment B and the autobiographical poet-shepherd in *Adonais* is supported by the similarity in tone and content of the two works. Reiman aptly observed that the imagery of weeping recurrent in the fragment "is stronger in *Adonais* than in *Epipsychidion*" [22]. Indeed, its whole melancholy mood has little in common with the exalted tone of the latter poem and is rather reminiscent of Shelley's pastoral elegy. Given the extreme roughness and incompleteness of the extant draft and the poet's uncertainty of expression in Italian, I confine myself to reconstructing the general sense of the *terza rima* fragment, in which Tirsi, who in a cancelled passage on folio 27^{r} is described as "old" ("vecchio"), seems to console a beloved one before his own impending death, assuring him that they will be reunited in eternity. Death is welcomed by the speaker

[21] Virgil 1999, 66-73.
[22] *BSM*, VII, 93.

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as a release from the "prison" ("carcere") of life, which he recognises to be the real death: "Dalla morte stessa, moriendo; io fuggo" ("From death itself, dying; I flee") (fol. 25[r]). Shelley later expressed the same concept in stanzas 39-41 of *Adonais*, where echoing his Italian fragment he declared: "He lives, he wakes – 'tis Death is dead, not he" (361). Similarly, the representation of death as a wave ("onda") on folio 25[v] recurs in the sadly prophetic final stanza of the elegy, in which the poet imagines himself in the moment of his death as on a bark borne from the shore of life to eternity.

In his verses in Italian *terza rima*, Shelley appears to have explored some of the imagery of *Epipsychidion*, which he was concurrently composing; at the same time, they anticipate ideas and motifs that are fully developed in "A Defence of Poetry" and *Adonais*, both written shortly afterwards. The correspondences between his works in Italian and in English are significant inasmuch as they reveal his continuous interest in certain themes (for example, the voyage of elect souls to a secluded island, the divine power within the poet's mind, and the vanity of life) and highlight the contribution of his Italian endeavours to the metapoetic reflection that occupied him in the first part of 1821. These recurrent images and conceptions also endow Shelley's Italian verses with their quintessentially "Shelleyan" quality, which has already been called to attention [23]. Shelley failed to compose a poem in Italian, but the extant fragments show that he was able to translate his poetic vision into the foreign language. Finally, his attempts at Italian *terza rima* served as a further training in the use of that form, which he had previously adapted to the metre of English poetry with more than satisfactory results. The Arabic numeral on the first page of Fragment B, seemingly indicating the beginning of a new section, suggested to Reiman "that the poem was conceived as an extended series of short sequences in *terza rima*, like 'Ode to the West Wind', which consists of five *terza rima* sonnets" [24]. However, the fragment is distant from the closed structure of Shelley's ode, and rather foreshadows the relentless *terza rima* narrative of "The Triumph of Life". Over a year later, the memory of his poetic endeavours in Italian contributed to the formal virtuosity of his unfinished masterpiece.

[23] *BSM*, VII, 94.
[24] *BSM*, VII, 357.

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5.2. The quest for an Italian form in "Una Favola"

Shelley's last known attempt at literary composition in Italian is the prose fragment entitled "Una Favola", which literally means "A Fable". This is also the only example of allegorical prose in the poet's canon. It survives both in the form of a draft and as a holograph fair copy, which are edited separately here for the first time, each followed by its English translation. "Una Favola" contains echoes of a number of Shelley's earlier works in English and, like his Italian verses, it foreshadows "The Triumph of Life". As is the case with the fragments in *terza rima*, however, commentators have mostly emphasised its analogies with *Epipsychidion*, treating them as evidence that Shelley wrote the fable for Teresa Viviani [25]. Quinn went so far as to attribute a few corrections in the draft to her, but a close comparison between these corrections, some of which are in a neater hand than the surrounding material, and Teresa's letters to Mary and Percy Shelley in the Abinger Collection at the Bodleian has permitted me to establish that they are in a distinct handwriting [26]. If one only concedes that Shelley wrote more carefully as he revised his draft, then there should be no reason to doubt that all the emendations it contains are his own. The claim that Teresa Viviani helped him is further undermined by the spelling and grammar mistakes that remain in both draft and fair copy, which a native speaker of Italian would easily have spotted and rectified. Indeed, except for the emendation of "preghava" into "preghasse" (but the correct spelling is *pregasse*), all Teresa's supposed interventions are synonymic substitutions and rephrasings, not grammatical corrections, and therefore they can be safely attributed to the author.

Quinn also offered a biographical interpretation of "Una Favola" as Shelley's exploration of his infatuation with Teresa Viviani; accordingly, she explained his failure to fair-copy the final passage, which she read as "a fictionalized recasting" of Mary Shelley's reaction to her husband's emotional unfaithfulness, as a case of self-censorship [27]. I concur that the

[25] The predominant view of "Una Favola" is summarised in Hunter 1966, 60-61.

[26] *MYRS*, VI, l, 109-110, 119, 121, 123-124, 186. Teresa Viviani's letters are shelf-marked as Bodleian MS. Abinger c. 45, fols. 48-61, 69-70, 107-112, Bodleian MS. Abinger c. 66, fols. 77-86 and Bodleian MS. Abinger c. 67, fols. 12-18. One word among Teresa's supposed emendations to Shelley's draft, the feminine singular adjective "oscura", occurs in the same form in one of her letters (Bodleian MS. Abinger c. 45, fol. 107^{v}), but in the latter only it is spelled with an elongated *s*, which she used somewhat idiosyncratically also in place of a single *s* and much more frequently than Shelley.

[27] *MYRS*, VI, li.

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omission of the passage was intentional, but I have an alternative explanation that does not implicate Mary Shelley or her feelings about Teresa Viviani, whatever these may have been. Although Shelley fair-copied "Una Favola", the draft is incomplete; finding himself unable, or unwilling, to continue the composition, he may have decided to transcribe what he had written, but without the last portion, so as to turn it into a publishable manufactured fragment. The physical appearance of the fair copy provides evidence of its circulation. It is written on loose leaves (two bifolia) now shelf-marked as Bodleian MS. Shelley adds. c. 4, fols. 250^{r}-253^{r}, which bear the same watermark (visible in the top right-hand corner of folio 253^{r}) as the paper used for the draft and fair copy of "Ode alla Libertà". Like the latter, it was folded multiple times horizontally as well as vertically, and a circular mark visible on the verso side of folio 253, left in all probability by a seal, indicates that the resulting small packet was enclosed for mailing [28]. Shelley may have sent it to a prospective publisher, or to Leigh Hunt for inclusion in *The Liberal*, where a work like "Una Favola" would not have been out of place. The latter hypothesis would also account for the fair copy now being among the Shelleys' papers. Of course, it is possible that it was mailed after Shelley's death and returned to his heirs; however, the similar manuscript state of "Una Favola" and "Ode alla Libertà" suggests that the poet had the same intentions with respect to both works and circulated them with a view to publication.

"Una Favola" is the story of the overcoming of an adolescent crisis such as the male characters in Shelley's poetry often experience. The young protagonist awakens to a vision of love, which he pursues; finding only the disappointing reality of life, he seeks relief in death, but he is rescued from his deadly passion by the providential encounter with the woman of his destiny. The fair copy interrupts at this point, before the lovers' confrontation with Death and Life which occupies the final passage of the draft. The quest for ideal love – what Harold Bloom called the "internalised quest-romance" – is a constant theme in Shelley's oeuvre from *Alastor* onwards [29]. As the youth in "Una Favola", so the Poet in *Alastor* is visited by a vision of love, "a dream of hopes that never yet / Had flushed his cheek" (150-151). That vision fled, he seeks it through the world, growing old and frail:

> […] wildly he wandered on,
> Day after day, a weary waste of hours,

[28] *BSM*, XXI, 498.
[29] Bloom 1970.

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> Bearing within his life the brooding care
> That ever fed on its decaying flame.
> And now his limbs were lean; his scattered hair
> Sered by the autumn of strange suffering
> Sung dirges in the wind; his listless hand
> Hung like dead bone within its withered skin. (244-251)

These lines appear to have been reworked into the following passage of "Una Favola":

> e si forte fu l'amor chi lo menava, che aveva circuito l'orbe, ed indagato ogni sua regione; e molti anni erano già spenti, ma le soffranze piu chè gli anni avevano imbiancita la chioma ed appassito il fiore della forma. [30]
>
> *and the love that led him was so strong, that he had gone around the world, and searched through all its regions; and many years had already gone by, but sorrows rather than years had whitened his hair and withered the flower of his form.*

A voyage by sea and river then leads the Poet in *Alastor* to a primeval forest, "one vast mass / Of mingling shade, whose brown magnificence / A narrow vale embosoms" (421-423), which anticipates the sylvan setting of "Una Favola". Here the Poet dies, failing to attain his dream of love.

While the youth's deadly passion in "Una Favola" has a direct antecedent in *Alastor*, its happy ending derives from *Epipsychidion*, which has a similar narrative line to that of the prose fable. In the central section of the poem, the speaker recounts how he sprang "from the caverns of my dreamy youth" to seek "the lodestar of my one desire" (*Epipsychidion*, 217-220). The quest for the ideal woman led him "Into the wintry forest of our life" (249), where "many mortal forms" tempted him (267), before one who looked like the Moon conducted him to her cave, where he lay "nor alive nor dead" (300). At last, the "glorious One" (336), that is the woman he had been searching for, found him,

> […] and the dreaming clay
> Was lifted by the thing that dreamed below
> As smoke by fire, and in her beauty's glow
> I stood, and felt the dawn of my long night
> Was penetrating me with living light:

[30] This description also contains an echo of the incipit of Byron's "The Prisoner of Chillon" (also "A Fable"): "My hair is grey, but not with years". Unless otherwise specified, I cite from the fair copy of "Una Favola".

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> I knew it was the Vision veiled from me
> So many years. (338-344)

The action in "Una Favola" likewise culminates in the youth's redemptory encounter with a transcendental figure – the expression "angelica donna" ("angelic woman") is cancelled in the draft – that owes much to Dante's characterisation of Beatrice as a miracle of God in the *Vita nuova*: "E levando gli occhi la vidde; e mai gli pareva d'aver veduto una visione si gloriosa: e dubitava forte si fosse cosa umana" ("And lifting his eyes he saw her; and he seemed never to have beheld such a glorious vision: and he doubted much whether she were a human thing"). In light of these analogies, it is possible to read "Una Favola" as a partial rewriting in allegorical form of the narrative section of *Epipsychidion*. The allegory illustrates, and complements, the abstract definition of love that Shelley had given years before in the fragment "On Love":

> We are born into the world and there is something within us which from the instant that we live and move thirsts after its likeness. […] the meeting with an understanding capable of clearly estimating the deductions of our own, an imagination which should enter into and seize upon the subtle and delicate peculiarities, which we have delighted to cherish and unfold in secret, with a frame whose nerves, like the chords of two exquisite lyres strung to the accompaniment of one delightful voice, vibrate with the vibrations of our own; and of a combination of all these in such proportion as the type within demands: this is the invisible and unattainable point to which Love tends; and to attain which it urges forth the powers of man to arrest the faintest shadow of that without the possession of which there is no rest or respite to the heart over which it rules. [31]

A partially cancelled sentence in the draft of "Una Favola", which does not occur in the fair copy, effectively condenses the passage above: "Le anime di tutti i due furono segnati, davanti d'essere nate nel mondo, a contentarsi una dell'altra, e di non contentarsi finche {furono divise}" ("the souls of both had been destined, before they were born into the world, to be satisfied with one another, and not to be satisfied as long as {they were separated}").

Reading "Una Favola" as an Italian version of *Epipsychidion*, however, would not only be reductive but also eclipse its many correspondences with other of Shelley's works, thus preventing the appreciation of

[31] *SPP*, 504.

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the fundamental imagerial and thematic continuity between his Italian and English production. In addition to the echoes of *Alastor*, a further instance of such continuity is represented by the figure of Death in her cave, which indeed has little in common with the character identified with the Moon in *Epipsychidion*. The description of Death in "Una Favola" rather calls to mind the Witch of Atlas as she sits in her cavern

> Spelling out scrolls of dread antiquity
> Under the cavern's fountain-lighted roof;
> Or broidering the pictured poesy
> Of some high tale upon her growing woof,
> […]
>
> While on her hearth lay blazing many a piece
> Of sandalwood, rare gums and cinnamon.
>
> ("The Witch of Atlas", 250-258)

A "fire of perfumed wood" ("fuoco di odorose legnà") also burns in the cave of Death, who is an "enchantress" ("incantatrice") too, while she aptly weaves a "white shroud" ("bianca mortaja"). The correspondences with "The Witch of Atlas" are even more pronounced in the draft of the fable, where the shroud is said to be "trimmed with many strange hieroglyphics" ("ornata di molti strani geroglifici") reminiscent of the Witch's magic scrolls. The figure of the Witch of Atlas has been compared to a number of Shelley's female characters fairly distinct from one another [32], but not to the enchantress Death in "Una Favola". Re-reading "The Witch of Atlas" in light of this analogy brings into sharp relief the obscure side of the Witch's nature, which emerges in her detached curiosity about humans asleep and dead in stanzas 61-71 of the poem [33].

As the female figure in the cave, so the forest in "Una Favola" is something other than the one in *Epipsychidion*. The forest (like the cave) is a recurrent symbol in Shelley's works, the source of which can be generally traced to Dante. In particular, "the obscure Forest" in *Epipsychidion*, 321 is an explicit reference to Dante's "selva oscura" (*Inferno*, 1.2). But in "Una Favola" Shelley superimposed the image of the forest from the *Tesoretto* by the thirteenth-century poet Brunetto Latini, which he partially translated in 1821, upon that of the Dantean *selva*, itself derived from Latini's work. The *Tesoretto* is an allegorical-didactic poem written in the first person. The autobiographical protagonist finds himself lost

[32] Hogle 1988, 211-212.
[33] P.B. Shelley 2018a, lxi-lxii.

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in a wood, where he encounters Nature, who instructs him on God, the creation, original sin, angels, Lucifer, creatures, the human soul, the four humours, the elements, signs, and planets. Then Nature directs Brunetto on a journey, where he meets Virtue, Justice, and Love, to the last of whom he falls prey. After being rescued by Ovid, he rides away and reaches the top of Mount Olympus, at which point the poem breaks off. Although in the Preface to *Prometheus Unbound* Shelley had expressed his "abhorrence" of didactic poetry, the motif of a youth's journey to discover Nature's and Life's secrets is so reminiscent of the narrative line of his own *Alastor* that it is no surprise he was drawn to the *Tesoretto*. The passage he translated, which corresponds to lines 2261-2334 in modern scholarly editions of the poem, bears striking, heretofore unnoticed similarities with "Una Favola". In both works, the protagonist encounters Love – "Piacire" ("Pleasure") in the *Tesoretto* – in a wood, who is personified as a male character and is surrounded by a train of female figures [34]. In "Una Favola" the figures are initially veiled and their identity is unknown, while in Latini's poem the protagonist-narrator recognises the four "Ladies" ("donne valenti") standing near Pleasure as "Love, Hope, Desire, and Fear" ("Amore, e Speranza, / Paura, e Disïanza"), and then describes their arts.

A closer look at Shelley's translation, known as "Love, Hope, Desire, and Fear" after the title supplied by Richard Garnett [35], reveals the presence of creative variations from the source text that prefigure other elements of "Una Favola". In rendering the lines that introduce the four ladies in Love's train, for instance, Shelley intensified the original semantics to give a more decidedly negative connotation to their action. Below is the original passage followed by a literal translation:

E ciascuna 'n disparte
Adopera sua arte,
E la forza, e 'l savere,
Quant'ella può valere.

And each by herself
Employs her art,

[34] Quotations from Shelley's translation are based on the draft in Bodleian MS. Shelley adds. e. 7, back pastedown and pp. 155-159. The source text is quoted from the then latest edition of *Il Tesoretto* (Latini 1817), which does not differ substantially from the three earlier editions (1642, 1750, and 1788). I have not been able to establish which edition Shelley used.

[35] P.B. Shelley 1862, 40.

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And power, and knowledge,
As best as she can.

And here is Shelley's version:

And each diversly exercised her art
For her own part
By force or circumstance or sleight
To prove her dreadful might
Upon that poor domain.

Shelley rephrased and expanded Brunetto Latini's description, which is made in neutral terms, to convey the sense that the ladies are threatening and deceitful and the lover's heart (the "poor domain") is their designated victim. This characterisation corresponds to the vicious behaviour of Love's attendants in "Una Favola", who, after unveiling themselves, start tormenting the youth, "ora mottegiando ed ora minacciandolo" ("now mocking and now threatening him"). It is also worth noting that in his translation Shelley used the past simple instead of the present simple of the original. That this is the result of a conscious stylistic choice, rather than of ignorance of Italian verb tenses, is evidenced by a self-correction on page 156 of the holograph, where "wert" is written above a cancelled "art". By switching from the present to the past tense, Shelley conveyed a stronger sense of the poem's telling the story of one individual, which again links his translation to his Italian fable.

The analogies between Shelley's rendering from the *Tesoretto* and "Una Favola" well illustrate his use of translation as a spur to original creation discussed in the previous chapter. But they also point to a later dating for "Una Favola" than is usually assigned to the fragment. Both draft and fair copy are dated to late 1820 - early 1821 on account of the supposed connection between Shelley's Italian endeavours and Teresa Viviani [36], but it would seem more plausible that the fable was composed around the same time as the rendering from Brunetto Latini, when Shelley was fresh of his reading of the *Tesoretto*. The completeness and position of the translation (a draft) in Bodleian MS. Shelley adds. e. 7 suggest the late summer or early autumn of 1821 as its most likely period of composition, i.e. before the drafting of *Hellas* on the following pages of the notebook in October of that year. Dating "Una Favola" to the same period means that it may have been near contemporary to

[36] *BSM*, XXI, 498.

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"Ode alla Libertà", on which, as argued in Chapter 3, Shelley was working well into the summer of 1821, thus reinforcing the supposition that the two pieces may have shared the same fate. Moreover, the later dating I propose for "Una Favola" diminishes the import of its links with *Epipsychidion*, undermining the claim that it was intended solely for Teresa Viviani, and it also accounts for Shelley's secure command of Italian in the fable. "Una Favola" stands apart from his other original compositions in the language by virtue of its inferior number of spelling and grammar mistakes, complex syntax, and extensive vocabulary; it thus displays his ability to express himself through the new medium more clearly than either the Sgricci review or the verse fragments in *terza rima*.

As well as echoing Dante, Brunetto Latini, and Shelley's own earlier works, "Una Favola" looks forward to "The Triumph of Life". The youth's encounter with the woman of his destiny in the forest of Brunetto Latini's and Dante's quest not only coincides with the poet's meeting with Emily in *Epipsychidion*, but also anticipates the vision of the "shape all light" (352) recounted by the character of Rousseau in "The Triumph of Life" [37]. Moreover, the unveiling of the "masked forms" ("mascherate forme") of Love's train to reveal their "horrible aspect and loathsome figure" ("orribile aspetto e ria figura") and their parading "in long and slow procession" ("in lunga e lenta processione") before the youth foreshadows the description of the followers of the chariot of Life shedding "Mask after mask" (536) at the end of the later fragment. However, the debt of "The Triumph of Life" to "Una Favola" resides less in its specific imagery than in its particular use of allegory. The protagonist of Shelley's Italian fable encounters a series of allegorical personifications (Love, Life, Death, and the unidentified veiled figures) in the course of his quest, which represents man's life. Indeed, unlike the other characters, he is a human being, as was the autobiographical protagonist of Brunetto Latini's *Tesoretto* (and, following its example, Dante the Pilgrim in the *Divine Comedy*). The same juxtaposition of human and allegorical figures characterises Rousseau's narrative in "The Triumph of Life", where the personification of Life on her chariot is reminiscent of the kind of allegory that Shelley had effectively employed elsewhere, notably in "The Mask of Anarchy". Within this allegorical framework, Shelley introduced a real historical character on the model of the *Tesoretto*, i.e. Rousseau. He then built the narrative into a Dantean encounter, itself part of a dream vision that reproduces the structure of Petrarch's *Trionfi*. After

[37] The text of "The Triumph of Life" is cited from *SPP*, 483-500.

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fashioning his Italian fable on the early Italian masters of allegory, Shelley put the lesson into practice in "The Triumph of Life"; "Una Favola" can thus be regarded as an apprenticeship for the composition of his most Italianate poem.

The youth's quest for ideal love in "Una Favola" corresponds to the poet's quest for a distinctly Italian form. The numerous echoes between Shelley's fable and his verse and prose in English are the index of his effective rendering of his poetic vision into Italian; they prove the accuracy of Forman's observation, in his editorial note on the draft of "Una Favola", that it possesses "a remarkable and wholly characteristic charm" despite being "extremely inaccurate and very full of revisions" [38]. However, "Una Favola" is more than an exercise in Italian composition. In writing it, Shelley not only translated distinctive elements of his poetry, but also established a literary dialogue with his Italian models. In its intertextuality, as in the superior command of the language it displays, "Una Favola" differs from the Sgricci review and, to a lesser extent, the verse fragments in *terza rima*. By drawing on Dante and Brunetto Latini, Shelley inscribed his fable into the thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century Italian allegorical tradition. His imitation of the early Italian poets is a more conscious act than his adoption of the language of the *trecentisti* and Renaissance writers discussed in Chapter 3, which betrays the almost inevitable "outdatedness" of the literary writer in a foreign tongue. Shelley modernised medieval Italian allegory, adapting it so that it signified the ultimate Romantic quest.

[38] P.B. Shelley 1911a, 151.

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6.
SHELLEY'S EPISTOLARY ITALIAN

Shelley's earliest and last extant writings in Italian are private letters. It is safe to assume that throughout his residence in Italy he carried out personal and professional correspondence in Italian on a regular basis, so these letters ought to be regarded as relics of a fairly intense, though largely unrecorded, activity, rather than exceptional cases. His dealings with bankers, landlords, and, less frequently, lawyers (following his former servant Paolo Foggi's blackmail attempts) and printer-booksellers (for the publication of *The Cenci* in Leghorn and *Adonais* in Pisa) no doubt involved a significant amount of written communication. During his residence in Rome in 1819, the arrangement of his family's social life as members of Marianna Candidi Dionigi's circle may also have required the writing of notes and letters in the foreign language, an activity which must have become the norm after the Shelleys settled in Pisa and became themselves the centre of a social circle largely composed by Italians. Given the routine nature of such writings, it is no surprise that they have not been preserved, so that only the letter to Marianna Candidi Dionigi of December 1819 (No. 1) survives to attest to the worldly side of Shelley's Italian correspondence. Allusions in his letters in English further indicate that he, too, like Mary Shelley and Claire Clairmont, regularly exchanged written messages with Teresa Viviani over the period of their friendship, which lasted about nine months. The letters he sent to Teresa have not been preserved, nor has his petition to the Grand Duchess of Tuscany in the girl's favour, which likewise must have been written in Italian [1]. The surviving fragmentary drafts apparently addressed to Teresa Viviani

[1] Mary Shelley's and Claire Clairmont's letters to Teresa Viviani have likewise been lost. Of her side of the correspondence, eleven letters to Mary Shelley and nine to Percy Shelley survive in the Abinger Collection at the Bodleian, which have been edited in Varinelli 2017b, 123-157.

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(No. 2) may be the residue of his correspondence with her, but in the absence of any evidence that he fair-copied and sent them, they should be treated with caution. Indeed, not all of these fragments may be what they have seemed to over-enthusiastic scholars. Certainly, Shelley's two letters to Countess Teresa Gamba Guiccioli of 10 and 22 August 1821 (Nos. 16 and 17) – his only extant holograph letters in Italian – are the result of considerable practice. It is improbable that Byron would have asked Shelley to write to Teresa Guiccioli on such a delicate matter as her family's emigration, had he not known that Shelley was up to the task. The fact that his intervention proved instrumental in the Gambas' and Byron's relocation to Pisa is an index of the proficiency which by then he had achieved in epistolary Italian.

All Shelley's extant letters (and letter drafts) in Italian fall into the category of "familiar" letters, which, according to the classical distinction between *negotiales* and *familiares*, comprehends any private epistle not originally meant for publication [2]. Although few in number, they reveal that he thoroughly followed the conventions of the Italian epistolary genre. The first rule of private correspondence recommended by contemporary letter-writing manuals was the avoidance of the literary language in favour of an unaffected style that reproduced the courteous, informal, or even intimate, conversation for which the letter was a substitute [3]. Shelley adhered to this rule, so that the language of his letters is arguably the closest to his spoken Italian. The examination of these texts thus contributes to the assessment of his linguistic competence. In the following analysis, I focus on the fragmentary drafts of letters to Teresa Viviani and, mostly, the two letters to Teresa Guiccioli, the holographs of which have only recently been made available to scholars and are largely unexplored. Since Shelley's holograph letter to Marianna Candidi Dionigi is lost, analysing its grammatical correctness would be misleading due to the errors that are likely to have been introduced by the copyist, Sophia Stacey, who transcribed it in her diary. However, as an example of the highly standardised sub-genre of the letter of introduction, it provides scope for a consideration of the formulas and linguistic strategies employed in it and their pragmatic function. The letters to Teresa Guiccioli are interesting not only from a linguistic point of view, but also for the meta-reflection they contain, which I read as a comment on Shelley's whole experience of writing in Italian.

[2] The distinction was made by the fourth century AD rhetorician Caius Julius Victor and was partly derived from Cicero (Antonelli 2003, 12).

[3] Serianni 1989a, 177. See also Antonelli 2003, 28.

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6.1. Letter writing etiquette

Written at the end of December 1819, Shelley's letter of introduction to Marianna Candidi Dionigi (1756-1826) is his earliest extant piece of original writing in Italian. The addressee was a celebrated painter and archaeologist who let the apartments in Palazzo Verospi in via del Corso where the Shelleys had lodged at the beginning of their stay in Rome the previous spring. In her residence in the same palace, Marianna Candidi Dionigi ran a salon where both Italians and foreigners used to gather, and which the Shelleys and Claire Clairmont assiduously attended [4]. Shelley wrote to her to recommend two fellow travellers, Sophia Stacey (1791-1874), a ward of his uncle, Robert Parker, and her chaperone, who visited him in Florence. The two women took lodgings in Palazzo Marini in via Valfonda, where the Shelleys lived, on 11 November 1819, the day before Mary Shelley gave birth to Percy Florence, and it was Sophia who suggested the child's middle name. In the following weeks, Shelley spent a lot of time with her reading Italian poetry, visiting the Uffizi Gallery, and walking in the Parco delle Cascine, and he composed several lyrics for her to sing, including "Goodnight" [5].

Although in Rome Shelley had seen Marianna Candidi Dionigi on an almost daily basis, the tone of his letter is deferential, as signalled by the use of the titles "STIMATISSIMA SIGNORA" ("MOST ESTEEMED Madam") and "Illustrissima Signora" ("Most Illustrious Madam") in the superscription and address, the markedly formal courtesy pronoun, "Lei" (as opposed to the more neutral "Voi"), and the signature "suo servo umilissimo" ("your most humble servant") in the closing formula [6]. These polite expressions of respect were especially common in letters addressed by a man to a woman, regardless of their respective rank [7]. The layout of Shelley's holograph is likely to have been altered in the various stages of transmission of the text; however, the date may well have occurred at the close of the original letter, as this position is consistent with its tone. In fact, one contemporary letter-writing

[4] *MWSJ*, 252-261; *CCJ*, 99-109. Extensive information on Marianna Candidi Dionigi can be found in Attenni 2008 and Ricci 2011.

[5] As Sophia Stacey's diary is untraced, and only selected entries from the period she spent in Florence with the Shelleys are quoted in Rossetti Angeli 1911, 95-101, it is not known whether the two women made use of the letter and were admitted into Marianna Candidi Dionigi's *conversazioni*.

[6] On the use of courtesy pronouns in early nineteenth-century Italy see Serianni 1989b, 19-23.

[7] Antonelli 2003, 58.

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manual recommended that the date be placed at the end of a letter, on the left-hand side, when addressing a peer or someone superior in rank, and between the superscription and the beginning of the letter, on the right-hand side, when writing to inferiors, friends, and relatives [8].

Shelley used a superlative in the body of the letter as well as in the superscription and subscription, extolling his addressee's genius as "coltissimo" ("most refined"). As Giuseppe Antonelli explains, such superabundance of superlatives was a characteristic feature of epistolary Italian in the nineteenth century, as they helped achieve a higher degree of expressivity that compensated for the physical distance between correspondents [9]. In this case, the use of superlatives served to stress the respectful tone of the letter and combined with flattering references to the addressee's "gran prezi" ("great merits") and expert knowledge of Roman antiquities to gain her favour. The Italianisation of the English proper nouns Claire ("Clara") and Sophia ("Sofia") can likewise be read as a polite gesture toward the recipient (although the Shelleys occasionally called Claire "Clara" even before moving to Italy) – while the title "Signorina" ("Miss") with which Shelley referred to Claire suggests that the existence of Allegra had not been disclosed to Marianna Candidi Dionigi. Mary Shelley, whom he formally called "mia Signora Moglie" (literally, "my Madam Wife") here, also Italianised her name and signed some of her letters from Italy "Marina" or "Maria" [10]. As the superscription and subscription, so the body of Shelley's letter consists for the most part of stereotypical formulas, including the expression of modesty in the preamble, the elaborate constructions with which he conveyed Mary's and Claire's greetings ("La prego di accettare i saluti"), introduced Sophia Stacey and Miss Corbet Parry-Jones ("Con questa prendo la libertà di presentarla"), and offered his services ("Potendo servirla qui che mi comanda"), and the farewell formula, "le bacio le mani" ("I kiss your hands"). Overall, the letter shows that after less than two years in Italy, Shelley had mastered the strict Italian epistolary ceremonial and was able to address an Italian lady in a polite and urbane language.

[8] Milone 1816, 38.
[9] Antonelli 2003, 62-63.
[10] *MWSL*, 139, 164, 173, 190, 259.

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6.2. Shelley's correspondence with Teresa Viviani

The second surviving example of Shelley's epistolary writing in Italian after his letter to Marianna Candidi Dionigi is provided by the four holograph fragments I have grouped together under the heading "Fragmentary Drafts of Letters to Teresa Viviani". Fragments A, B, and C are preserved in Bodleian MS. Shelley adds. e. 8, which also contains the translation from "The Knight's Tale" that Shelley may have meant to include in a letter to Teresa. Stubs and fragments of leaves bearing Italian words and parts of words in prose indicate that more letter drafts may have existed in the notebook, but have been removed, perhaps by Shelley himself. The few entire words that can be deciphered on these fragments of paper do not match any of his surviving writings in Italian. Letter fragment D is drafted, instead, in Bodleian MS. Shelley adds. e. 9, a notebook that Shelley used in conjunction with Bodleian MS. Shelley adds. e. 8. Although Teresa Viviani is never mentioned explicitly in the fragments, internal evidence securely establishes that she was the addressee. Conversely, it is far from certain that they are all unfinished or partial drafts of letters, as previous editors have taken them to be. I would not completely rule out that Fragment D, at least, could be a note for conversation, which Shelley may have jotted down in preparation for his next visit to Teresa. This possibility does not make it less useful for the purpose of my analysis, which is to assess the poet's command of ordinary, non-literary Italian.

All four fragments can be dated to the early days of Shelley's friendship with Teresa Viviani; they thus precede his works in Italian. In the first fragment, he quoted a few lines from Dante's sonnet "Guido, vorrei, che tu, e Lappo, ed io" (which he had translated in 1815) to promise her his family's friendship, which, he wrote, was but few days' old ("una amizia [*for* amicizia] di pochi giorni"). Since Shelley's first recorded visit to Teresa took place on 3 December 1820, the possible period of composition of Fragment A can be narrowed to the first weeks of December [11]. External evidence may narrow it even further. The following passage from Teresa Viviani's letter to Shelley dated 12 December 1820 (likely her second letter to him) seems to echo and reverse the idea expressed in his fragment that the new friends have been brought together from the ends of the earth ("estremità della terra"):

> L'Anima mia, il mio cuore, non potranno mai dividersi dal mio Fratello, e dalle amate Sorelle mie; la persona mia, escita da questo carcere,

[11] *CCJ*, 191.

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> tenterà ogni cosa, onde seguire il cuore, ed Emilia vi cercherà per tutto, ancor, che foste agli ultimi confini della Terra. [12]

The echo suggests that Shelley did complete his fragmentary draft, copied it into a letter, and sent it to his recipient before 12 December; Teresa's letter of that date may even be a reply to it.

As for Fragment B, its dejected tone, allusion to the writer's poor health ("Uno sventurato in mia salute"), and rough state all point to the second half of December 1820 as its period of composition, when Shelley was suffering from an attack of ophthalmia, which must have rendered it difficult for him to produce a neat piece of writing, especially one in Italian [13]. Moreover, on 13 December Teresa Viviani learned from Claire Clairmont that Shelley had been a victim of the hatred and persecutions of his countrymen (in the words of this fragment, "io sono odiato e perseguitato dai miei {concittadini}"), as she informed Mary Shelley the following day:

> Ieri sera, Chiara, mi raccontò una parte della di Lui Istoria; le sue molte sventure, le ingiuste persecuzioni, e la sua salda, ed innata Virtù, in mezzo a questi terribili, e non meritati affanni, riempì di ammirazione e di affetto il mio cuore, e mi fecero pensare, e forse senza fallo, che Esso non è creatura umana; non ha, che l'esteriore di umano, ma l'interno è tutto divino. […] Mi pare incredibile che possa aver dei nemici; come mi pare impossibile, che la sua Virtù non sia conosciuta da tutti. [14]

Assuming that Fragment B was written after Mary Shelley had received Teresa's letter of 14 December, and that she shared its content with her husband, it can be speculated that Shelley was touched by the girl's sympathy and drafted a letter to her in spite of the inflammation in his eyes to give her a fuller account of his misfortunes.

---

[12] "My Soul, my heart can never be parted from my Brother and my beloved Sisters; once out of this prison, my person will attempt everything to follow her heart, and Emilia will seek you everywhere, even if you were at the utmost boundaries of the Earth" (Varinelli 2017b, 127, 129). Teresa Viviani habitually addressed the Shelleys as her brother and sister.

[13] *MWSL*, 169.

[14] "Yesterday evening Claire told me a part of His History; his many misfortunes, his unjust persecutions, and his firm, innate Virtue in the midst of these terrible and undeserved woes filled my heart with admiration and affection, and made me think, and perhaps not wrongly, that He is not a human creature; He has but the exterior of a human, the inside is all divine. […] It seems unbelievable to me that He can have enemies; just as it seems impossible to me that his Virtue is not universally known" (Varinelli 2017b, 131, 132-133).

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Shelley's cancelled reference to his eyes and rather self-pitying allusions to his poor health in Fragment C suggest that, like the previous one, it was drafted at the time of his attack of ophthalmia. This dating is corroborated by the similarly rough state of the two fragments, which might even have been part of the same draft. In fact, Fragment C begins with a few words ("fra quella moltitudine, che non pensano") that read like an attempt at rephrasing the ending of Fragment B ("fra la desolazione") to express the poet's favourite idea of a crowd as a peopled solitude [15]. Fragment C stands out for its figurative language, which links it to Shelley's contemporary verses. The overarching image of the woman's appearing to him as he closes his eyes echoes his translation from an Italian canzonetta beginning "Thy gentle face, Eurilla dear", which, as I have suggested elsewhere, may also be related to Teresa Viviani [16]. Likewise, the detail of the woman's beauty halo ("ombra di sua divina belleza") recurs in the first two lines of a verse fragment in English drafted in between the self-translations from Act 4 of *Prometheus Unbound* and *The Revolt of Islam*: "Thy beauty hangs around thee like / Splendour around the moon" [17]. Rogers also heard an echo of Petrarch, *Trionfo della Morte*, 1.160-164:

> Non come fiamma, che per forza è spenta,
> Ma che per se medesma si consume,
> Se n'andò in pace l'anima contenta,
> A guisa d'un soave, e chiaro lume,
> Cui nutrimento a poco a poco manca. [18]

The content of Fragment D reveals that it, too, dates from the first weeks of Shelley's friendship with Teresa Viviani. Since he informed her that he had found someone willing to try to persuade her father to find her a husband, arrangements for her wedding with the landowner Luigi Biondi must not yet have been made (or, if they had, they had not been disclosed to Shelley). Hence, the fragment must predate Mary Shelley's letter to Leigh Hunt of 29 December 1820 - 1 January 1821, where she stated that Teresa's "only hope is in a marriage which her parents tell her is

[15] See "Lines Written among the Euganean Hills", 216 and "Ode to Liberty", 38.
[16] Varinelli 2017a.
[17] Bodleian MS. Shelley d. 1, fol. 104^{r} *rev.*
[18] Rogers 1967^{2}, 342, n. 1. "Not like a flame that forcibly is quenched, / But like to one that doth itself consume, / Her soul, contented, went its way in peace, / Like to a light that is both clear and sweet / And loses slowly its own nutriment" (Petrarca 1962, 59-60). The original is quoted from Petrarca 1778, 171, which Shelley owned.

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concluded although she has never seen the person intended for her" [19]. Fragment D further suggests that Shelley saw no other way than marriage to effect Teresa's escape from the convent school where she resided. The letter of hers which he mentions could then be the one of 12 December 1820 quoted above, where she lamented her situation (which she blamed on her mother), thanked Shelley for his active support, and alluded to his plan of writing a petition to the Grand Duchess of Tuscany as unavailing:

> Tu mi consoli impegnandoti per la mia liberazione. Qui, ci sto male, tanto di spirito, che di salute, e soffro poi moltissimo per ogni verso; sicchè levandomi di qui, Tu mi daresti una nuova esistenza. – Rimetto a Te, il come farlo, avendo Tu quella saviezza, e quell'esperienza, delle quali son priva. – Ma io temo, che il progetto dell'Arcid^ssa^ non debba riescire, poichè i miei Genitori non vorranno acconsentirvi; e chi sa se S.A.R. si degnerà d'interessarsi per me! [20]

On such evidence, Fragment D can be tentatively dated between 12 and 29 December 1820. The female friend to whom Shelley told Teresa he had turned for assistance was probably Mrs Mason, who had lived in Pisa since 1814 and had many more connections than him there. Late in life, Claire Clairmont told Edward Augustus Silsbee that Shelley had asked Mrs Mason to disguise herself as a man, as she had done when studying medicine at Jena, and pretend to marry Teresa Viviani [21].

The superior linguistic correctness and greater fluency of Fragment D are therefore not an indication that it was written at a later time than the other fragments, but rather a consequence of its more practical content, as opposed to the confessional quality and abstract topics of Fragments A, B, and C. However, this last fragment may not be what it seems. It would appear from the uneven lines and shaky handwriting that Shelley wrote it on an unstable surface, for example holding the notebook in his lap while riding in a carriage. The following scenario suggests itself: while he was on his way to Teresa Viviani's convent school, the

[19] *MWSL*, 172.

[20] "You console me by committing yourself to my liberation. Here I am unwell as much in spirits as in health, and I also suffer very much in every sense; so that, by removing me from here, You would give me a new existence. – I leave to You how to do that, since You have that wisdom and experience, which I lack. – Yet I fear that the Archduchess plan will not succeed, because my Parents will not consent to it; and who knows if Her Royal Highness will deign to interest herself in me!" (Varinelli 2017b, 126-127, 129). Shelley mentioned his writing the petition for Teresa Viviani in his letter to Claire Clairmont of 18 February 1821 (*PBSL*, II, 267).

[21] Kingston Stocking 1995, 135.

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poet jotted down a brief note to himself in preparation for their interview, so as to know what to say to her and how to say it in Italian. It is no more than a conjecture, but it might account for the scarce punctuation as well as the almost complete absence of self-corrections in the manuscript, which make it appear more similar to a personal memorandum than the draft of a letter (or part of it).

Together with their rough state, the dating of all four fragments to December 1820 accounts for the orthographic and grammatical uncertainties they present. Compared with Shelley's self-translations and original compositions in Italian, which were made in the following months, his letter draft fragments contain a higher number of uncorrected spelling mistakes, including the interference with English in the spelling of "visiblile" (for *visibile*) in Fragment C (but cf. the self-correction "t‹y›iranni" in Fragment A). Other misspellings ("amizia" for *amicizia* [Fragment A]; "dislegarsisi" for *dislegarsi*; "labbi" for *labbra* [Fragment C]), and particularly the errors with double consonants ("belleza" for *bellezza* [Fragment C]; "reccarmi" for *recarmi*; "Niccola" for *Nicola*; "avisargli" for *avvisar*lo [Fragment D]), are ascribable to the haste of drafting [22]. The same is also true of the several missing accents (but cf. the many correctly accentuated words in Fragment A), e.g.: "non e il mondo dominato" (Fragment A); "~~gia~~" (Fragment B); "finche"; "cosi" (Fragment C); "infelicita" (Fragment D). On the other hand, the drafts reveal Shelley's remarkable confidence in the use of the apostrophe ("~~nell'aria~~"; "l'anima"; "d'amarla" [Fragment C]; "m'ha" [Fragment D]) and euphonic *d* ("ad una" [Fragment D]) – though in the latter case it led to hypercorrection: "ad [*for* al] tuo bene" (Fragment A). Moreover, just like his self-translations, the fragments show the influence on Shelley's spelling of both the local regional variant and the literary language. In Fragment C, the third person singular simple future indicative form "spengera" (for *spegnerà*) is a Tuscanism attested to this day [23]. In Fragment A, Shelley initially wrote "contro" ("against"), then corrected it into the archaic literary variant "contra" [24] ("contr‹o›a di me"); "core" ("heart") for *cuore* in Fragment B is also an archaism that was common at the time in written Italian, and it recurs in his self-translations as

[22] Similar errors are contained in the Sgricci review and the draft of "Una Favola"; cf., for instance, "ellettrizzava" for *elettrizzava*, "producevava" for *produceva*, and "imaginnazione" for *imaginazione* (or *immaginazione*) in the former and "esse" for *essere*, "abitandondo" for *abitando*, and "chiammano" for *chiamano* in the latter.

[23] Rohlfs 1966-69, I, 362.

[24] *DLI*, s.v.

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well. At the morphological level, there are occasional mistakes in verb conjugation (in Fragment A, the form "aggungeriei" for *aggiungerei* is unattested) and, as elsewhere in Shelley's Italian corpus, nominal agreement, e.g.: "Tue [*for* Tuoi] dolci occhi" (Fragment C). (In Fragment D, "essa m'ha promessa" [for *promesso*] is an *ad sensum* agreement.) Fragment A also reveals uncertainty regarding the auxiliary of the verb "to be": "~~essendo io~~ ↑avendo stato io↓" (*essendo stato io* would have been the correct form). Possibly influenced by English usage, at times Shelley dropped the article or used a simple in place of an articulated preposition in front of possessive adjectives, e.g.: "Mio voto" (Fragment A); "di sua divina belleza" (Fragment C). However, in several other instances he correctly applied the rule (e.g.: "la tua forma" [Fragment C]; "della tua infelicita" [Fragment D]), suggesting that his mistakes did not depend on ignorance of Italian grammar and may have been redressed in fair-copying. Anyway, none of the errors in the fragments affect meaning: cancellations aside, the finished sentences are clear.

Turning to the stylistic choices of the letter draft fragments, one noticeable characteristic common to them all is the use of the markedly informal courtesy pronoun "tu" to address Teresa Viviani, despite her being a noblewoman (as also stated in the Dedication of *Epipsychidion*), and hence Shelley's superior in rank. Teresa's letter to Shelley of 12 December 1820 reveals that he employed it first and on his own initiative, but she did not take offence and gladly switched in turn to the familiar "tu" (in her previous letter, she had politely addressed him with "Voi"):

> Mio caro Fratello.
>
> Per dimostrarti, che non mi spiace la tua famigliarità, ma anzi mi diletta, e perchè Tu non prenda per rimprovero, il mio trattarti in altra guisa, io ti scrivo con il medesimo tuo linguaggio di confidenza, e di dolce amicizia. [25]

Shelley's actual letters do not survive, but the extant fragments give a good idea of the "language of intimacy and sweet friendship" of his correspondence with Teresa Viviani. In Fragment A, in particular, the familiar tone resulting from the use of "tu" is reinforced by the sequence of

[25] "My dear Brother. // To show you that your familiarity does not displease me, but on the contrary delights me, and so that You will not take as a reproach my treating you in another guise, I am writing to you with your same language of intimacy and sweet friendship" (Varinelli 2017b, 126, 128).

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rhetorical question ("e non e il mondo dominato dai tiranni?"), emphasis ("Io ti offerisco quel che ne ho e quel che possa"), and exclamation ("o che io avesse più!"), which mimic the liveliness of a face-to-face conversation between friends. Imperatives – as opposed to formal circumlocutions such as those contained in the letter to Marianna Candidi Dionigi – also help establish a close relationship with the recipient. Examples are found in Fragment A – "Pensi a tutto, di ogni cosa che ti viene in mente parli e ragioni, e mai non disperi e credi sopra tutto" [26] ("Think of everything, talk and reason about all that comes to your mind, and never despair and above all believe") – and Fragment D: "perdonami la traduzione per la quale i miei motivi devono reccarmi la tua scusa" ("forgive my translation which you must excuse on account of my motives"). The confessional quality of Fragments B and C would further contribute to the creation of intimacy between the correspondents. Shelley used a plain language and an informal register throughout and, except for the two archaisms that crept into his drafts, he followed contemporary epistolary norms and avoided the elevated literary diction. Although apparently irreconcilable with the colloquial style of the fragments, the long quotation from the Dantean sonnet in Fragment A may have been intended as a courteous homage to Teresa Viviani's literary inclinations; moreover, its subject would accord well with the tone of "confidenza" and "dolce amicizia" of Shelley's letters to her.

6.3. "CATTIVO ITALIANO"?

In August 1821, Shelley had the opportunity to establish a brief correspondence in Italian with another young woman, also named Teresa, that is Countess Guiccioli (1800-1873), Byron's married lover. While her side of the correspondence is lost, Shelley's first (and, possibly, only) two letters to her survive. The first one, dated 10 August, is written from Ravenna, where he was then visiting Byron, upon the latter's request. Byron also wrote the address, "A Sua Eccellenza – / La Contessa Guiccioli Gamba. / S.R.M. / Byron" [27], where the abbreviation "S.R.M." presumably stands for "Sue Regali Mani" ("Her Royal Hands"), a variation

[26] The form of the first four imperatives is that of the second person singular present indicative. The correct forms are *Pensa*, *parla*, *ragiona*, and *non disperare*.

[27] Pforzheimer MS. PBS 0269, p. 8.

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from the usual formulas, "Sue Proprie Mani", or "S.P.M." ("His/Her Own Hands"), and "Sue Graziose/Gentili Mani", or "S.G.M." ("His/Her Gracious Hands"), which indicated that the message had to be personally handed over to the addressee. In fact, Shelley's letter was not posted but delivered by hand to Teresa Guiccioli, who was then in Florence. The purpose of the letter was to convince her to abandon her plan to move to Geneva with her father and two brothers, who had recently been banished from their native Ravenna on account of their Carbonarism. Writing to Mary Shelley on the same day, Shelley betrayed the pride he took in accomplishing this task:

> He [Byron] has made *me* write a long letter to her [Teresa Guiccioli] to engage her to remain. […] I have set down in lame Italian the strongest reasons I can think of against the Swiss emigration – to tell you truth I should be very glad to accept as my fee his establishment in Tuscany. [28]

Shelley's arguments against the Gambas' (and, consequently, Byron's) relocation to Geneva rest on the malignity he witnessed its inhabitants, and especially the English residents, display against Byron in the summer of 1816, when Shelley and his family also had their share of slanders. This letter thus complements the Shelleys' and Byron's contemporary records of that famous summer, and it is especially important since the Shelleys' journal relating to the first part of their sojourn in Geneva is lost and only few of their letters from that period have survived. Even more significantly, this letter contains Shelley's only extant account of the malicious rumours of which his family and Byron were victims at the time of their residence in Switzerland.

The letter proved effective. Teresa Guiccioli's reply has not survived, but Shelley quoted part of it to Mary Shelley:

> Her answer is this moment arrived and my representation seems to have reconciled them to the unfitness of that step – At the conclusion of a letter full of all the fine things she says she has heard of me is this request – which I transcribe. "*Signore. – la vostra bontà mi fa ardita di chiedervi un favore – me lo accorderete voi? Non partite da Ravenna senza Milord*". [29]

Not only did Teresa Guiccioli and her family finally resolve on moving elsewhere, namely to Pisa (where the Shelleys lived), but Shelley's

[28] *PBSL*, II, 323 (emphasis original).

[29] *PBSL*, II, 335. "Sir. – your goodness makes me dare to ask you a favour – will you grant it to me? Do not leave Ravenna without Milord".

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description of the slanderous treatment Byron had received in Geneva also influenced her later account of his residence in Switzerland in her unpublished biography, *La Vie de Lord Byron en Italie* [30]. More generally, Peter Cochran observed that Shelley's letter "may have convinced T[eresa] G[uiccioli] of the hostility with which B[yron] was regarded by England's more conventional spirits – a feeling which runs throughout the *Vie*" [31].

Shelley's second letter to Teresa Guiccioli is dated 22 August and, like the previous one, was delivered by hand, in this case by her father, as the opening sentence indicates. Shelley was back in Pisa, where he informed the Countess he was about to secure a house for her and her family. By the end of the month, the Gambas had moved into Casa Finocchietti (better known as Palazzo Vecchio De' Medici) on the Lungarno. Byron arrived on 1 November and moved into nearby Palazzo Lanfranchi (today Palazzo Toscanelli), which Shelley had also procured, on the opposite side of the Arno to the house where the Shelleys and the Williamses resided, Tre Palazzi di Chiesa [32].

As these two letters are Shelley's sole extant holograph letters in Italian, they constitute a unique example of his attention to the exteriority of his Italian correspondence, illustrating how he adjusted to a fundamental part of contemporary epistolary etiquette, which regulated the non-textual elements of letter writing. In light of this, I first look at them as material objects, examining their physical appearance and what message it communicated to the recipient, before considering how this message was complemented, and reinforced, by the stylistic and linguistic features of the text. Traditionally, and not only in Italy, the amount of blank space to be left between each of the main sections of a letter (superscription, date, body of the letter, signature, and eventual post scriptum) was directly proportional to the rank of the recipient, but the practice was falling into disuse in the early nineteenth century [33]. Leaving ample margins and blank spaces made for an easier, more pleasant reading experience; it was thus a service to the recipient. A well-spaced

[30] Guiccioli 1983, II, 32-34.

[31] Guiccioli 2005, 602. A note in the manuscript of *La Vie de Lord Byron en Italie* reveals that Teresa Guiccioli would have included Shelley's letter in her biography, as she did with his second one (Guiccioli 2005, 98, n. 213). She published a French translation in Guiccioli 1868, 587-590, which was reprinted in *PBSL*, II, 325-329 together with an English rendering. Other English translations of her French text appeared in Guiccioli 1869, 97-99, Origo 1949, 272-274, and Guiccioli 2005, 602-604.

[32] *MWSJ*, 378, 381.

[33] Antonelli 2003, 33-34.

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letter also denoted deference, as it signalled that the sender was willing to use a greater quantity of (expensive) paper to write to their addressee. In both his letters to Teresa Guiccioli, Shelley showed his respect for the Countess by leaving a wide margin on top of the first page and a line of space between the date and inscription as well as between the signature and postscript. He also wrote in a neat, regular hand, with few false starts and self-corrections, and did not cram the page with words or cross-writing, as he would do in the correspondence with his closer friends in order to save paper. Indeed, in neither letter does the text occupy all the available space. The first is made of two leaves, each folded in half horizontally so as to create four pages: the body of the letter occupies five and a half pages, while the last two pages are blank except for the address in Byron's hand on the last one. The same occurs in the second letter, consisting of one bifolium, where pages 1-2 contain the main text and the address is written at right angles in the centre of page 4. However, habit prevailed in the placing of the date before the inscription, on the right-hand side of the paper, rather than at the close of the letter, as contemporary norms prescribed for correspondence with a social superior [34]. Shelley also bent the rule by adding a post scriptum to both letters, which epistolary etiquette permitted only when writing to a friend or in particular circumstances, but generally discouraged [35].

The elegant appearance of the two letters complements their register and the title and formulas used to convey the sender's regard for the recipient. As in his letter to Marianna Candidi Dionigi, writing to Teresa Guiccioli Shelley employed the markedly formal courtesy pronoun "Lei". His quotation from her reply to his first letter reveals that she instead used

[34] Shelley usually began his familiar letters with the date in the top right position. The following holograph letters have been consulted for comparison: letter to Godwin, 21 February 1816, Pforzheimer MS. PBS 0197, p. 1; letter to Byron, 22 July 1816, Pforzheimer MS. PBS 0026, p. 1; letter to Byron, 20 November 1816, Pforzheimer MS. PBS 0030, p. 1; letter to Claire Clairmont, 30 December 1816, Pforzheimer MS. PBS 0031, p. 1; letter to Hunt, 3 August 1817, Pforzheimer MS. PBS 0037, p. 1; letter to Byron, 13 April 1818, Pforzheimer MS. PBS 0048, p. 1; letter to Peacock, 16 August 1818, Pforzheimer MS. PBS 0052, p. 1; letter to Hunt, 15 August 1819, Pforzheimer MS. PBS 0056, p. 1; letter to Hunt, 23 December 1819, Pforzheimer MS. PBS 0059, p. 1; letter to Hogg, 1 July 1820, Pforzheimer MS. PBS 0191, p. 1; letter to Peacock, 12 July 1820, Pforzheimer MS. PBS 0062, p. 1; letter to Mary Shelley, 7 August 1821, Bodleian MS. Shelley c. 1, fol. 440^{r}; letter to Trelawny, 16 May 1822, Keats-Shelley House SHL-2.6a, p. 1; letter to Trelawny, 18 June 1822, Keats-Shelley House SHL-2.8, p. 1; letter to Horace Smith, 29 June 1822, Keats-Shelley House SHL-2.9, p. 1; letter to Mary Shelley, July 1822, Bodleian MS. Shelley c. 1, fol. 504^{r}.

[35] Antonelli 2003, 52.

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"Voi", as was appropriate to her gender and superior social status. Shelley also politely addressed her with the titles "Signora" ("Madam") and, in the inscription of the second letter, "Nobile Donna" ("Noblewoman"). As the letter to Marianna Candidi Dionigi, those to Teresa Guiccioli contain elaborate formulas of opening ("Mi lusingo che Ella accettera"; "Permetta, ch'io" [No. 16]; "mi sento affatto incapace di esprimere i miei sentimenti sulla confidenza di quella ella si ha compiaciuta di onorarmi"; "Si assicura, che" [No. 17]) and closing ("La supplico di scusare la libertà colla quale ho scritto" [No. 16]; "Che ella scusi la rozza frase d'un cuore sincero, e non dubiti del profondo interesse che ella ne ha svegliato" [No. 17]). The subscription of the first letter, "Mi dichiaro con somma stima, Signora – // Suo sincero ed um^{o} Serv^{e}" ("I declare myself with the highest esteem, Madam – // Your sincere and most humble Servant"), is exemplary of the conventionality of the epistolary genre, as it consists of a series of stereotyped phrases and linguistic strategies aimed to reinforce the respectful tone of the rest of the letter. These include the repetition of the title "Signora" and the sender's deferential self-description as "Serv[itore]", emphasised by the use of the possessive adjective "Suo" and the superlative "umilissimo" (abbreviated to "um^{o}").

The formality of Shelley's first letter is dictated in part by his being yet unacquainted with his addressee. His second letter also ends with an elaborate farewell formula, but this is less emphatic, as it does not contain any title or superlatives; moreover, although he still styled himself "Suo servo" ("Your servant") in the signature, he added the informal "ed amico" ("and friend"). By then, in fact, Shelley had met Teresa Guiccioli (in Florence, on his way back from Ravenna to Pisa) and, judging from her recollections of their encounter, which take up six manuscript pages in her *Vie de Lord Byron en Italie*, had made a favourable impression on her. Her account is worth quoting at length, for it includes probably the most detailed description we have of Shelley's physical appearance:

> His features were delicate, but not regular except for his mouth; however, his smile was bad, and the mouth was somewhat spoilt by the shape of his teeth, which hardly matched its comeliness. It was obvious that his skin must have been fine in texture, but by this time, either by exposure to inclement weather, or as a result of health problems, it was marred by freckles. The hair that grew on his extremely small head was chestnut brown and plentiful, but it was not well cared for, and was already threaded with premature silver. He was very tall, but stooped so much that he seemed to be of ordinary height; and although his whole frame was very slight, his bones and knuckles were prominent and even knobbly.

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> […]
> His dress was just as extraordinary, because he usually wore a short jacket like an adolescent schoolboy; he never had any gloves, nor any polish on his shoes. But, for all that, he would always have seemed the most perfect of gentlemen, one in a thousand. His voice was displeasing – high-pitched, and even shrill; however, as his thoughts took shape, it modulated with a charm, a mildness, a refinement, that touched the heart. [36]

The different connotation of the second subscription illustrates how the skilful letter writer could personalise and adapt the formulas of the genre to reflect the development of the relationship between the correspondents. It is, therefore, a further proof of Shelley's mastery of epistolary Italian.

Moving on to consider the body of the letters, one notable feature that immediately emerges is the richness of Shelley's vocabulary. Rognoni cites the term "pretismo" from the first letter as an example, explaining that it was widely attested at the time, although it was cautiously omitted from Tommaseo's dictionary [37]. According to the *Grande dizionario della lingua italiana* (the Italian equivalent of the *OED*), the term, used derogatorily, indicates the "characteristic attitude of a priest" and connotes hypocrisy, deceitfulness, and servility [38]. It has no counterpart in English and Teresa Guiccioli herself had to resort to a milder periphrasis in her French translation of the letter: "l'intolérance du clergé de mon pays" [39]. Shelley's lexical choice could not be more exact, especially since "pretismo" is used in association with "tirannia" ("tyranny"), thus evoking the alliance between Church and State ("priests" and "kings") against the English people which he repeatedly attacked throughout his poetry.

Shelley's attention to vocabulary emerges from the lexical self-corrections contained in the first letter. The cancelled words are not wrong, but are rejected in favour of a more accurate or idiomatic term. Thus, in "Non si potrebbe ~~imaginare~~ figurarsi una vita piu semplice" ("A more simple life […] could not be imagined"), the verb "figurarsi" is better apt to the context than "imaginare", as it had a more practical, material connotation than the latter and was generally used in relation to narrated facts and events [40]. Shelley also replaced the verb "dare" ("[to]

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[36] Guiccioli 2005, 339-340.

[37] Rognoni 2019, 124.

[38] *GDLI*, s.v. *Pretismo*. I have opted to render it as "priestly intrigue" in my translation.

[39] Guiccioli 1868, 588.

[40] *DLI*, s.v. *figurare*, 11. Both the present-day spelling *immaginare* and the variant *imaginare* were in use at the time.

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give") with the more precise "fornire" in the phrase "fornire una prova" ("furnish a proof"). Below, he fittingly substituted "divulge" (for *divulga*, i.e. "divulges") with "sparge", as the expression "sparge […] calonnie" ("spreads […] slanders") is idiomatic. Similarly, in combination with "cause" ("causes"), "conseguenze" ("consequences") is more frequently employed than "effetti" ("effects"), for which Shelley had initially opted: "le stesse cause non tarderanno a produrre le stesse conseguenze" ("the same causes will not be tardy in producing the same consequences") [41]. Shelley also interrupted himself as he was writing "fu simi[le]" ("was similar") and replaced the construction with a synonymic verb, "rassomigliava" ("resembled"). These corrections could be an indication that while composing he consulted a dictionary or received Byron's assistance, whose Italian was more fluent. Be that as it may, Shelley's search for the right word is comparable to the care he put into the aesthetic appearance of his letters and contributes to conveying his regard for his addressee. The quest for a refined diction even extended to the morphosyntactic level, as he repeatedly substituted the invariable relative pronouns *che* and *cui* with the more literary *il quale*, despite his uncertainty about its declension ("inconvenienti ‹ch›le quale [*for* quali]"; "licenza ~~ch~~' ↑la quale,↓"; "coloro nella ~~cui~~ sorte ‹di›dei quali"; "il male del ~~cui~~ ↑quale↓"). Significantly, the style of the second letter, which Shelley wrote in haste and after making Teresa Guiccioli's acquaintance, is plainer.

The elevated syntax of the first letter is counterbalanced by the many idiomatic expressions and collocations, some of which have no equivalent in English. Notable examples are "mi faccio un dovere" ("I make a point"), "affatto straniere" ("utter stranger"), "per tutta ricompensa" ("as sole recompense"), "sfacciato libertinaggio" ("shameless libertinism"), "tralascio le dettaglie [*for* i dettagli]" ("I omit the details"), "prestarlo [*for* prestarvi] intera fede" ("giving it full credence"), "faceva spezie di" (literally, "gave the impression to"; hence, "pretended to"), "ordine del giorno" ("daily occurrence"), and "mi faccio premura" ("I am taking care"). These expressions make for a lively, engaging letter, thus contributing to the persuasiveness of Shelley's argument. The second letter, written in Pisa (where he could not have been assisted by Byron), also contains a few collocations, notably "affatto incapace" ("totally incapable"), "essere in tempo" ("be in time"), and "profondo interesse" ("deep interest"). Although the letters to Teresa Guiccioli pre-

[41] But cf. in the preceding paragraph: "queste cause non potendo cancellarsi dalle circonstanze attuale, farebbero nascere i soliti effetti" ("since these causes cannot be eliminated from the present circumstances, they would produce the usual effects").

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sent the same types of grammatical errors (especially regarding spelling, morphology, and the use of accents) as are contained in Shelley's other writings in Italian, which, however, do not affect comprehension, the idiomatic style that characterises them indicates that after over three years in Italy he had attained a confident knowledge of the everyday language.

Persuasiveness in the first letter is also achieved through emphasis of certain words and phrases ("cannochiali"; "ordine del giorno"; "un barbaro"), the use of superlatives ("una vita del piu sfacciato libertinaggio"; "tutto ciò che e tenuto piu sacro"; "Le piu oltreggianti caricature"; "infelicissimo"; "le piu infamanti calonnie"; "tutto ciò che è piu caro a me"; "motivi i piu sinceri") and anaphoric repetitions ("ora ridicole ed ora orrende"; "sempre richiede e sempre trova"), and direct addresses to the recipient beyond the opening and closing formulas ("Che Ella non si lusinga"; "Ella non potrebbe concepire"; "appena Ella può concepire"). Emphasis and anaphora are combined in the second letter: "quella che e stata il suo buono Angelo, quella che gli ha menato dalle tenebre alla luce" ("the one who has been his good Angel, the one who has led him from darkness to light"). As in the letters and letter draft fragments analysed above, these linguistic strategies aim to reproduce the expressivity of a face-to-face conversation and overcome the communicative distance between the correspondents. Another means of recreating dialogue in an epistolary exchange consisted in quoting almost verbatim the letter to which one was replying [42]. Shelley did so in his second letter, as he reassured Teresa Guiccioli that he would comply with her request – "*Non partite da Ravenna senza Milord*" – using her same words, hence referring to Byron (whom he had invariably called "Lord Byron" in his first letter) as "Milord": "nessuno mezzo da me sara omesso di affrettare la partenza del Milord" ("no means will be omitted by me to hasten the departure of Milord"). Shelley added an articulated preposition in front of "Milord", as if it were an Italian title, thus reinforcing the colloquial character of the term.

Punctuation in Shelley's letters further contributes to the impression of a natural conversation. In particular, the frequent elision – correctly marked by the apostrophe – of the final vowel of definite articles ("L'unico"; "L'effetto"; "l'eccessiva"; "l'odio"; "l'ordine"; "l'impegno" [No. 16]), personal pronouns ("l'aveva"; "l'ho esperimentato" [No. 16]), simple ("d'orrore"; "d'un Stoico, anzi d'un uomo"; "d'una certa"; "d'Italia" [No. 16]; "d'un cuore" [No. 17]) and articulated prepositions

[42] Antonelli 2003, 77-78.

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("coll'idea" [No. 16]), adjectives ("quest'odio" [No. 16]), and conjunctions ("ch'io"; "s'io" [No. 16]) before words beginning with a vowel reproduces the continuous flow of spontaneous speech. The rhythm of speaking is also visually represented by means of the many dashes (which abound in Shelley's English letters as well) and the commas used emphatically, often breaking the subject-predicate unity (e.g.: "L'unico mio scopo, è la tranquillità" [No. 16]).

As mentioned above, in both letters Shelley departed from conventions and added a post scriptum, as he would habitually do in his correspondence with friends. Postscripts were seen as a sign of carelessness; when writing to a social superior, or in any formal correspondence, contemporary epistolary etiquette admitted their use only to pay one's compliments to a third person [43]. This is the function of the post scriptum to Shelley's second letter, consisting of a polite formula with which he conveyed his greetings to Teresa's brother, Pietro Gamba, whom, presumably, he had also met in Florence: "Prego i saluti della mia amicizia al suo stimato fratello" ("I pray the greetings of my friendship to your esteemed brother"). However, Shelley conflated two different constructions, i.e. *La prego di* ("I pray you to") and *Porgo* ("I offer"), and should have used the term *assicurazioni* ("assurances") instead of "saluti" before the specification "della mia amicizia". So, although the meaning of the postscript is clear, the effect is rather clumsy, and jars with the articulacy of the rest of the letter.

As for the post scriptum to the first letter, it constitutes Shelley's own take on a traditional topos of the epistolary genre, that is the ineffability of the sender's feelings [44]. Shelley expressed the same concept in a conventional, hyperbolic way in the opening sentence of his second letter. Here, on the contrary, he introduced a personal variation by imputing the impossibility of voicing his feelings to his poor Italian: "Ella saprà perdonare ad un barbaro il cattivo Italiano che vela i sentimenti onesti della mia lettera" ("You will be able to forgive a barbarian for the bad Italian that veils the honest sentiments of my letter"). The emphasis on the term "barbaro", which is twice underlined in the holograph, demands our attention. The primary meaning of this adjective (here nominalised) is "foreign", or "foreigner" [45]; it thus recalls the apologetic opening of the letter, in which Shelley had introduced himself as "uno affatto straniere", alluding to both his foreignness and his being unac-

[43] Antonelli 2003, 52.
[44] Antonelli 2003, 71.
[45] *GDLI*, s.v.

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quainted with the recipient (*straniero*, or *straniere*, covered the sense of "stranger" in addition to that of "foreigner") [46]. However, in the context of this letter, written by Shelley in Italian, the term "barbaro" connotes more than his alienness. The poet played on the etymology of *βάρβαρος*, indicating someone inarticulate or who stutters when speaking in Greek; hence, "barbaro" conveys the idea of a defective diction, which is reinforced by the qualification of the sender's Italian as "cattivo" ("bad"). Shelley's imperfect command of the written language is what caused his words to "veil" the sentiments he attempted to express through them; the topos of ineffability is originally developed into the same garment metaphor he had employed in his poetry in English and in Italian as well as in "A Defence of Poetry" to represent the limits of language, which conceals and obscures thought and feeling. It will also be recalled that Shelley had previously used the adjective "barbarian" to describe Tirsi's speech in the last lines of his holograph fragment in Italian *terza rima* (No. 14, Fragment B), which appear to be echoed in the post scriptum to this letter: "Così, vestiva in {barbari} accenti, / Il vero affetto a un {Ausonio} / Tirsi" ("Thus, Thyrsis clothed in {barbarian} accents, / His true affection for an {Ausonian}"). Whereas in these lines it is the accent of the shepherd Tirsi, a probable Italian alter ego of the poet, that is said to be "barbarian", i.e., with reference to the contemporary Italian sociolinguistic situation, non-standard, in the letter to Teresa Guiccioli the adjective refers to Shelley himself, who in this case did not adopt a foreign persona. Nonetheless, just as Tirsi's "{barbari} accenti" "clothed" his affection for the dedicatee of his verse, so Shelley's "cattivo Italiano" "veils" the sentiments from which his letter originates, and in both cases communication is jeopardised. Since Shelley described his sentiments as "honest", the additional implication of the postscript is that his poor command of written Italian could make him appear insincere to the recipient. Therefore, the post scriptum justifies his reassurances about his "most sincere motives" and his "devotion" to Byron and the Countess in the closing formula.

Shelley's postscript is first and foremost a declaration of modesty, or *excusatio propter infirmitatem* (literally, "excuse for weakness"). Its position, however, is highly unusual, as such formulas typically occur at the beginning of a speech. The effect is one of contradiction: Shelley declared his linguistic skills insufficient to the task, but he did so after successfully completing it. The same contradiction is inherent in the

[46] *DLI*, s.v. *straniero*, 3.

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stereotypical farewell formula of his second letter to Teresa Guiccioli, which replicates the antithetical juxtaposition of uncouth diction and honest sentiments of the postscript to the first letter: "Che ella scusi la rozza frase d'un cuore sincero" ("May you excuse the rough phrasing of a sincere heart"). Shelley also adopted a similarly self-deprecatory tone as he informed Mary Shelley of the task with which Byron had entrusted him: "I have set down in *lame* Italian the strongest reasons I can think of against the Swiss emigration" [47]. Although in all three remarks Shelley stated his awareness of the limits of his written Italian, what implicitly emerges from them is his pride in his command of the language displayed in his correspondence with Teresa Guiccioli. As a matter of fact, Shelley's Italian proved up to the task, and his first letter was instrumental in the Gambas' decision to move to Pisa, which determined, in turn, his own reunion with Byron. While the second letter ends rather bathetically, the postscript to the first letter is a fitting climax to it as well as to Shelley's entire production in Italian. Reinterpreting contemporary epistolary conventions in an original, personal way, he once more voiced the idea of language perverting truth that recurs throughout his poetry and prose in English and is pivotal to his verse fragments in Italian *terza rima*. However, the view of the language of his letter as an impediment to real communication is expressed through a faultless, compelling sentence. The opposition between the form and meaning of the post scriptum thus encapsulates his contradictory attitude to language, which the letter exemplifies. Writing a long, fluent, and rhetorically sophisticated letter in Italian despite his being a "barbarian", Shelley defied the limits of language at the same time as he acknowledged them.

[47] *PBSL*, II, 323 (my emphasis).

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TEXTUAL NOTE

The texts in this edition are edited afresh from the extant original manuscripts, i.e. Shelley's holographs and, in one case, Mary Shelley's fair-copy transcript. No manuscript survives of item No. 1, which is reprinted from the first edition. Two considerations inform my editorial decisions. First, the necessity of showing every single correction made by the author (including false starts), since even seemingly insignificant emendations can help to assess Shelley's knowledge of Italian and illuminate his translation and composition technique. Secondly, the desire to convey the sense of his writings in Italian as being, for the most part, "in flux", and not finished works ready to be released for publication or circulation to a private audience. Accordingly, I have represented each text as exactly as typographical limitations allow in what can be defined as an "inclusive" edition. The texts, however, are not edited diplomatically. The placement of material on the manuscript page is not reproduced, but it is described in the footnotes when particularly relevant. The same also goes for the writing implement (pencil or quill) that Shelley used. In some instances, distinct portions of the same text have been arranged according to the temporal sequence in which they were written, as far as this can be established on the basis of textual and material evidence; as a result, these texts *look* different from their manuscript sources. This does not apply to insertions, whether a blank space had been left for them in the line of text, as is often the case in the self-translations, or not: insertions are reproduced where the author intended them to go. The main advantage of this conservative editorial practice is that it enables readers to observe, as it were, the author at work. By tracing the development of an item through successive stages of revision, the present edition casts light on Shelley's writing process.

It is the first time that all Shelley's known writings in Italian have been collected and edited to scholarly standards. This is hardly surprising when one considers the challenge they represent. The very nature of these writings, composed by a master of language in a language of which

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he did not have mastery, often to his evident (in the manuscript) frustration, pushes textual editing to the limits. Not only are all the incidentals of handwriting represented in the corpus, but many items survive in the form of extremely tortured drafts. Of course, the fact of being a native speaker of Italian has facilitated my deciphering many obscure passages, but, as I am sure the Italian scholars who preceded me would confirm, even a native Italian needs a good deal of perseverance, and a bit of good luck, to crack Shelley's roughest handwriting. While I have done my best always to honour his intention, I hope I have not been so strict as to have him make mistakes he did not make, nor so indulgent as to overlook any mistakes he did make. The following texts also silently correct inaccuracies in earlier editions which are partially ascribable to the editors' limited knowledge of early nineteenth-century Italian.

Original spelling has been preserved. This is a more challenging principle to adopt than it may seem. Unlike when editing manuscripts in the poet's mother tongue, it cannot simply be assumed that, writing in a foreign language, he meant to spell a word correctly if it does not appear to be so. Previous editors have often been guided by the principle of giving Shelley the benefit of the doubt whenever they came across a seeming grammatical error, especially one pertaining to the morphology of a word. To take the most common example, Shelley's frequent undotted *i*s are indistinguishable from his *e*s, making it impossible to tell whether he used the Italian male or female plural suffix in a number of nouns, pronouns, and adjectives. In all such cases, I have given him the benefit of the doubt only if an antecedent for his correct use of that form could be identified. In more complex instances of misspelling than these, I have tried to figure out what he may have been thinking when he wrote what I saw on the page in front of me. Thus, a few apparently nonsensical words have turned out to be the awkward result of the interference between the English (and, occasionally, Latin) and Italian spelling of the same word, and as such they have been preserved. (An explanatory footnote is provided for each case.)

I have not reproduced either inadvertent gaps occurring in the middle of a word or marks added by the author to bridge such gaps between letters. The splitting of words at the ends of lines (often without end and beginning line hyphens and in violation of rules of syllabic division in Italian) is not reported. Slips of pen, stray marks, poorly formed or oddly shaped letters, uncrossed *t*s, undotted *i*s, partial characters, characters accidentally crossed, and all other such "mechanical" mistakes are not reported. The elongated *s*, occasionally used by Shelley also in place of a single *s*, is represented as either "ss" or "s" according to the case. Writing

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in Italian, as in other foreign (modern and classical) languages, Shelley often seems to have ignored accents deliberately. When he remembered to insert one, he drew, as most people do when writing by hand, a personalised sign that does not coincide with either of the accents of the Italian language: the *accento acuto* (´) and the *accento grave* (`). While the use of the acute and grave accent in contemporary Italian is strictly regulated, between the sixteenth and the end of the nineteenth century Italian printers followed an unwritten rule, modelled on Greek usage, by which the acute accent was used within a word and the grave accent at the end of a word, regardless of the vowel over which it was placed. As a result, the grave accent was largely predominant in print, for vowels within words were seldom accented [1]. Words such as *poichè*, *nè* (now spelled *poiché*, *né*) feature in Giuseppe Baretti's popular *Dictionary of the English and Italian Languages* (1760) as well as in the 1793 five-volume edition of Dante's works that Shelley owned. In reproducing the accents in his Italian writings, I have followed the typographic conventions of his time.

In Italian, as in English, Shelley's punctuation is sparse and idiosyncratic; it is frequently omitted at the end of lines, and when it is present, it often serves the purposes of emphasis. Just as in his English writings, capitalisation is inconsistently used even within the same text. Both original punctuation and capitalisation have been preserved. Superscripted letters in abbreviations are retained, but not the dot below them. The length of dashes used as punctuation has been standardised. Other dashes are reproduced only when their use is significant. Dashes separating stanzas are replaced by a line of space. There is only one instance of direct speech extending over more than one line in the manuscript (the holograph fair copy of "Una Favola") where Shelley began each line with a left double quotation mark. Since I do not reproduce the lineation of the original, these additional quotation marks have been omitted.

The following symbols are used throughout this edition:

~~xxx~~	authorial cancellation
↑xxx↓	authorial insertion
[?xxx]	uncertain reading
[?~~xxx~~]	uncertain reading of cancelled character(s)
[?]	illegible character(s)
[~~?~~]	illegible cancelled character(s)
‹y›x	character(s) written over by other character(s)

[1] Migliorini 1990, 32.

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‹?y›x uncertain reading of character(s) written over by other character(s)

‹~~y~~›x cancelled character(s) written over by other character(s)

A single cancel-line is used to represent all classes of authorial cancellation, including (but not limited to) wavy, double, and multiple cancel-lines and the smudging of ink with a finger. Cancels within cancels are not shown. Insertions made above and, less frequently, below the line, with or without a caret, as well as inline insertions, squeezed in between two characters or words, are represented in the same manner. Insertions meant to replace cancelled matter are shown immediately following the cancellation regardless of their actual position in the manuscript. The same goes for insertions that I take as a replacement of uncancelled matter preceding them in time. In the rare occurrences in which a character or a series of characters has been written over more than once, successive corrections have been represented sequentially in this way: ‹z›‹y›x. Characters retraced by the author in a clearer manner are not shown. Virtually all possible combinations of the symbols above can be found in this edition. So, for instance, ↑‹?y›~~xxx~~↓ represents a cancelled authorial insertion part of which is written over earlier matter the reading of which is dubious. Additionally, diagonal lines represent all classes of lines drawn by Shelley to cross out entire passages or pages. Words underlined by the poet, whether entirely or partially, appear with a line printed below them for their whole length. The use of empty square brackets has been limited to the self-translations, where they signal passages omitted by the author. Their length approximates to the length of the missing material. In the prose pieces, apparently unfinished sentences or sentences ending without punctuation that are followed by a new sentence are separated from it by a double space.

The texts are arranged in a loosely chronological order on the basis of the dating I have established in the corresponding chapters. Subsequent versions of the same work are also presented in a chronological order under the same heading. So, of the three versions of "Buona Notte" (No. 13), I is the draft, II is a fair copy that Shelley released for publication, and III is a revised later version. Each item is followed by a statement of the copy text and previous publications and by my English translation or, in the case of Shelley's renderings into Italian, by the source text [2]. Page and folio numbers are followed by the abbreviation

[2] The source texts of Shelley's self-translations are identified in Chapter 3.

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rev. (for "*reverso*") only when this is used in the pagination (or foliation) of the original, i.e. when two more or less equal directions of writing can be distinguished in the notebook containing the manuscript. (It was usual practice for Shelley to turn a working notebook upside down and write in it from one end in a backwards direction after he had already started writing in it in a forwards direction from the other.) This is primarily to avoid confusion to anyone wishing to consult the original manuscript or a surrogate of it. When a text is written by the poet on a page, or series of pages, in a direction opposed to the usual one in that part of a notebook, this is specified in the footnotes.

My English translation may be termed a "service" translation, since it is intended primarily as an aid and guide to readers whose knowledge of Italian is inadequate to understand Shelley's non-standard early nineteenth-century Italian. Therefore, I have opted for a literal, but at the same time readable translation. I have rendered as exactly as possible what I take to be the meaning of Shelley's words, and I have tried to preserve his tone and imagery. I hope readers will thus be able to appreciate the quintessentially Shelleyan quality of his verse and prose in Italian. In fact, what has been aptly observed with respect to his fragments in *terza rima* is also true of his other Italian endeavours; namely, that they "do *not* sound like Italian poetry: they sound like Shelley" [3]. However, I have avoided unidiomatic constructions and archaic expressions that would sound too unfamiliar to native English speakers. My translation also serves as a reading text, as it does not render cancelled or corrected material. Passages cancelled by the author which had to be restored in the translation for clarity's sake appear within curly brackets. Shelley's original verses in Italian are followed by a prose translation. This means that I have not sought to render their formal elements (especially rhyme and rhythm) and my translations have no claim to the title of poetry. Nevertheless, I have followed the conventional practice of bilingual parallel-text editions and laid them out as verse, reproducing, that is, the original line and stanza division. This layout allows readers to follow Shelley's Italian poetic compositions almost word for word and thus get the most out of the translation. In my rendering of No. 2, Fragment A, I have reproduced – slightly adapted – Shelley's translation of Dante's sonnet "Guido, vorrei, che tu, e Lappo, ed io".

The present edition does not include the many transcriptions and quotations from Italian works of literature scattered among Shelley's

[3] *BSM*, VII, 94 (emphasis original).

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notebooks and letters. The source of two verse fragments in Italian, each entered by Shelley into a different notebook, has not been identified, and it cannot be altogether ruled out that they are original. I reproduce them below less on account of this possibility than because of the poor quality of the available transcripts. The first fragment is written in ink in a clear, small hand on Bodleian MS. Shelley adds. e. 11, p. 67 (facsimile and transcription in *BSM*, XV, 68-69), where it appears to interrupt a draft of "Julian and Maddalo" dated after December 1818. The lines in Italian are preceded by the title "Direzione" ("Direction") and beneath them is a short horizontal line, with which Shelley typically marked a textual unit to be retained:

~~Come~~ se nascondono i pesci
~~in~~ ↑nell'↓ onda
convien che cosi nasconda
L'anima mia ~~in~~ ↑da↓ te. [4]

The lines "may be part of a traditional song or improvisation, rather than an original composition by Shelley", a possibility I explored elsewhere [5]. The image of "the fish within the wave" recurs in *Prometheus Unbound*, 1.684.

The second unidentified verse fragment in Italian is written in pencil on top of Shelley's 1819-1820 Huntington Notebook No. 2. HM 2177, fol. 49[r] *rev.* (facsimile and transcription in *MYRS*, IV, 290-291), followed by the pencilled draft of the beginning of "A Vision of the Sea", probably composed in April 1820:

una vallata verde
Dentro la quale l'anima se perde
Come l'onde d'un bel rio che non po‹?o›nno star. [6]

To Rossington these lines appear to be "by Shelley as opposed to a transcription from an Italian literary source", as I have tentatively argued [7]. The human mind is compared to a river also in "Mont Blanc", 1-11, and in Shelley's letter to Peacock of 17 July 1816 [8].

---

[4] The following is a literal translation: "~~As~~ fishes hide / ~~in~~ ↑in the↓ wave / so I need hide / My soul ~~in~~ ↑from↓ you".

[5] *BSM*, XV, 174; P.B. Shelley 2018a, 1536.

[6] The lines can be translated as follows: "a green vale / In which the mind loses itself / Like the waves of a beautiful stream that cannot rest".

[7] *PS*, III, 328; P.B. Shelley 2018a, 1537.

[8] *SC*, VII, 27.

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A verse fragment in Shelley's hand pencilled over a sketch of foliage on Bodleian MS. Shelley adds. e. 8, p. 17 (facsimile and partial transcription in *BSM*, VI, 116-117) appears to be the draft of an original composition in Italian, but the deterioration of the medium has rendered it illegible. Until a clue is found that can help decipher these lines, it seems pointless to me to reproduce them as what would be a series of question marks [9].

[9] Tentative readings are provided in *PS*, IV, 54 and P.B. Shelley 2018a, 1191.

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1
Letter to Marianna Candidi Dionigi, December 1819

STIMATISSIMA SIGNORA: Appena lusingarmi che Lei si rammenta di me; ma la bontà che ha ricevuta tutta la mia famiglia dalle sue mani, mentre che stava in Roma, mi fa sperar che non siamo intieramente dimenticati da lei. La prego di accettare i saluti della mia Signora Moglie, e della Signorina Clara. Speriamo che la sua salute sta sempre meglio, quanto quella delle sue amabili figli. Con questa prendo la libertà di presentarla la Signora Jones, et la Signorina Sofia Stacey, amiche mie, e signore Inglesi – ammiratore di tutte le belle arti, e che sapranno valere i suoi gran prezi. Queste Signore viaggiono per l'Italia, et m'assicuro che il suo coltissimo genio le sarà del più gran vantaggio nel istruirsi sopra le antichità di Roma. Per me mi trovo in questo momento à Firenze, ma ancora fra poco visiterò Roma. Quando allora mi farò il piacere di salutarla. Potendo servirla qui che mi comanda. Sarà servita dal mio meglio. In questa speranza, le bacio le mani. – La prego di credermi con tutta sincerità suo servo umilissimo – P.B.S.

Firenze Xcembre 1819. [1]

All'Illustrissima Signora
La Signora Dionigi
310 Corso, Roma.

[1] The letter must have been written on or shortly before 29 December 1819, on which date Sophia Stacey and her travelling companion, Miss Corbet Parry-Jones, left for Rome after visiting the Shelleys in Florence.

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Text: Rossetti Angeli 1911, 99-100, n. 1 (Sophia Stacey's transcription). Holograph MS. unlocated.
Published: Rossetti Angeli 1911, 99-100, n. 1; P.B. Shelley 1912², 998-999; *J*, X, 138-139; *PBSL*, II, 167-168.

MOST ESTEEMED Madam: I hardly dare flatter myself that You remember me; but the kindness that all my family have received from your hands, while we were in Rome, makes me hope that we are not entirely forgotten by you. I beg you to accept my Wife's greetings, and those of Miss Claire. We hope that your health, as well as that of your amiable daughters, is constantly improving. With this letter I take the liberty to introduce Miss Jones, and Miss Sophia Stacey to you, friends of mine, and English ladies – admirers of all the fine arts, and who will be able to value your great merits. These Ladies are travelling through Italy, and I am assured that your most refined genius will be of the greatest advantage to them in studying the antiquities of Rome. As for me I am in Florence at this moment, but I shall visit Rome again soon. I shall then have the pleasure of paying my respects to you. If I can be of any service to you here please instruct me. I will serve you to the best of my ability. In this hope, I kiss your hands. – I beg you to believe me in all sincerity your most humble servant – P.B.S.

Florence December 1819.

To the Most Illustrious Madam
Madam Dionigi
310 Corso, Rome.

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2
Fragmentary drafts of letters to Teresa Viviani

A

influenza veruna ↑~~coi ricchi o nobili~~↓. – ~~Ma essendo io~~ ↑avendo stato io↓ nemico aperto di ogni tirannia politica o domestica, io ho tutti i ~~con~~ tiranni contr‹o›a di me – e non e il mondo dominato dai t‹y›iranni? Io ~~poss~~ ti offerisco quel che ne ho e quel che poss‹o›a – o che io avesse più! –

Pensi a tutto, di ogni cosa che ti viene in mente parli e ragioni, ~~e se io non mi presto~~ ↑e ~~aspetti~~, mai↓ non disperi [?~~un~~] ~~che alfine~~ ~~fin~~ e cred‹a›i ↑sopra tutto↓ che io non avrò riguardo a pericolo o fatica mia, ma solamente ad tuo bene in ~~tutto.~~ ogni consiglio o ajuto, che ti posso dare.

Eccoci dunque, tu e noi, ~~uniti in~~ ↑che siamo legati da↓ una amizia di pochi giorni, e ~~tratti~~ ↑accolti↓ da qualche fortuna strana, dalle ~~remotiss~~ estremità della terra, per essere forse un reciproco sollievo. [2]

Mio voto per te e noi ~~sara~~ ↑sia↓ fatto nelle parole di Dante – oh che –

> Fossimo presi per incantamento
> E messi ad un vascel, che ad ogni vento
> Per mare andasse a voler vostro e mio. –
> Sicche fortuna od

[2] A first, cancelled attempt at this sentence (not reproduced here) concludes the portion of text on Bodleian MS. Shelley adds. e. 8, p. 44[a]. Shelley then moved to the facing page 43[b] and rephrased it.

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E aggungeriei anche questo

> Che ciascun‹a›o di loro fosse contento
> Siccome io cred‹i›o che sareamo noi. [3]

Tue avute ~~doman~~ richiest‹a›e [4]

Text: Bodleian MS. Shelley adds. e. 8, pp. 44[a]-43[b].
Published: Rogers 1956, 341, 341-342 (as two separate fragments); *PBSL*, II, 447, 448 (as two separate fragments); *BSM*, VI, 170-173 (facsimile and transcription of MS.); P.B. Shelley 2018a, 1194.

no influence at all {with the rich or the high-born}. – Since I have been an open enemy to every tyranny political and domestic, I have all tyrants against me – and is not the world dominated by tyrants? I offer you what I <u>have</u> and what I can – would that I had more! –

Think of everything, talk and reason about all that comes to your mind, and never despair and above all believe that I shall have no regard for my own danger or difficulty, but only for your good in every piece of advice or help, which I can give you.

So here we are, you and we, who are bound by a few days' friendship, and have been brought together by some strange fortune, from the ends of the earth, to be perhaps a mutual relief.

[3] Shelley quoted from memory from Dante's sonnet "Guido, vorrei, che tu, e Lappo, ed io", introducing an error in the penultimate line, where the original subject is female: "E ciascuna di lor fosse contenta". Shelley's translation of this sonnet is included in the *Alastor* volume (1816).

[4] This unfinished sentence is added above the preceding paragraphs on Bodleian MS. Shelley adds. e. 8, p. 43[b].

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Let my vow for you and us be made in Dante's words – oh that we –

> Led by some strong enchantment, might ascend
> A magic ship, whose charmed sails should fly
> With winds at will where'er our thoughts might wend,
> And that no change, nor

And I would add this as well

> That each were as content
> As I believe that thou and we should be.

Your requests

B

~~che sono~~ ~~una~~ ↑troppo indegna di te, quantunque tua. –↓ ~~La~~ ↑Uno sventurato in↓ mia salute e ~~perduta~~; io sono odiato e perseguitato dai miei ~~concittadini; il mio cuore~~ e si ~~mio core~~ ~~batte ancora per te~~; ↑~~ancora potesse~~ vivere,↓ ~~come Maria ‹?io›ora che scrivo sente~~ Uno di ~~alte speranze gia mancate~~ ed il di cui ~~anima giovane in [?tram]~~ core, fra la desolazione [5]

[5] The whole fragment is drafted *reverso* on the notebook page.

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Text: Bodleian MS. Shelley adds. e. 8, p. 121.
Published: *BSM*, VI, 332-333 (facsimile and transcription of MS.); P.B. Shelley 2018a, 1195.

too unworthy of you, albeit your own. – One unfortunate in my health; I am hated and persecuted by my {countrymen;} One whose {high hopes have already failed} and whose heart, amid desolation

C

fra quella moltitudine, che non pensano

~~Questi occhi miei [?un]~~

~~Io non ho letto~~ [6]

Io ho sofferto molto ~~dalla mia~~ ↑nella salute↓ ~~questa sera, a sera,~~ oggi; ₹ mai [?fur] sono stato felicissimo. ‹D›Tue dolci occhi sorridono ~~nell'aria~~ dentro di me~~, in un~~

Io non penso piu alla morte – [?~~ri~~] ~~gradisco di~~ credo che ~~alcuna cosa~~ ↑l'anima↓ che tu ami non possa dislegarsisi finche tu cessi d'amarla – allora [?~~cosi~~] si spengera come fiamma a cui nutrimento manca [7]

Tue dolci ~~occhi~~ ↑~~lumi~~↓ ↑sorrisi↓ sempre rilucono sopra di me, mi sembra che io sento tua mano sopra la mia, che le tue labbi – ma allora io chiudo gli occhi e la tua forma, visiblile al occhio della mente mi circonda colla ↑soave↓ ombra di sua divina belleza ~~e~~ Molte volte cosi mi

[6] Here ends the portion of text drafted on Bodleian MS. Shelley adds. e. 8, p. 21.

[7] These two paragraphs occupy the lower half of page 20, but the last passage, from "finche tu cessi" to "manca", is written above the rest, as Shelley reached the bottom of the page before finishing the sentence. He then moved further up the page to write the following paragraph, but again ran out of space before completing it, so that the last portion of the fragment, from "la tua forma" to "cosi mi", is squeezed on top of all the rest.

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Text: Bodleian MS. Shelley adds. e. 8, pp. 21-20.
Published: Rogers 1956, 342 (incomplete); *PBSL*, II, 449 (incomplete); *BSM*, VI, 122-125 (facsimile and transcription of MS.); P.B. Shelley 2018a, 1195.

among that multitude, who do not think

{I have suffered much in health today; I have never been most happy. Your sweet eyes are smiling inside of me

I no longer think of death – I believe that the soul which you love cannot dissolve until you cease to love it – then it will die like a flame lacking nourishment

Your sweet smiles always shine above me, I seem to feel your hand on mine, your lips – but then I close my eyes and your figure, visible to my mind's eye surrounds me with the gentle shadow of its divine beauty Many times thus I}

D

ho parlato di te ad una mia amica, e per interessarla piu nella tua infelicissima sorte ho fattol leggere la tua ultima lettera (perdonami la traduzione per la ‹g›quale i miei motivi devono reccarmi la tua scusa) finalmente essa m'ha promessa scrivere al padre priore di San Niccola ~~i~~ Pisa, per avisargli della tua infelicita e per pregar‹l›gli venire visitarti [8] e fare tutto il suo possibile mettendosi come far caso di mezzo per istigar ~~gli~~ tuo padre a darti un sposo

[8] Here ends the portion of text drafted on Bodleian MS. Shelley adds. e. 9, p. 32. The rest of the fragment is squeezed at the bottom of the facing page 33, under an undated French address written in pencil on top and two lists in Italian in the middle of the page. The first of these lists is a series of distances between Pisa and "S.^{i} Pellegrino" that Shelley probably covered in his trip to the Alpe di San Pellegrino on 11-13 August 1820 (*MWSJ*, 328-329), to which period it can be dated. The second list consists of two Italian female names, "Signora Anna Tallinucci" and "Sig.^{a} Francesca Ricci cugina di Paola Serafini", whom I have not been able to identify. It has been conjectured that they may have been "Italian

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Text: Bodleian MS. Shelley adds. e. 9, pp. 32-33.
Published: Rogers 1956, 341; *PBSL*, II, 447-448; Knerr 1984, 167; *BSM*, XIV, 38-39 (facsimile and transcription of MS.); P.B. Shelley 2018a, 1195.

I have talked about you to a friend of mine, and to interest her more in your most unhappy fate I have made her read your last letter (forgive my translation which you must excuse on account of my motives) finally she has promised me that she would write to the Father Prior of St Nicholas's Pisa, to inform him of your unhappiness and beg him to visit you and intervene to the best of his power as the situation requires to induce your father to give you a husband

acquaintances whom Shelley hoped to interest in Emilia Viviani's plight" (*BSM*, XIV, 281), but there is no evidence that they had any relation to her, and their names may have been entered in the notebook at any time between August 1820 and Shelley's drafting of Fragment D.

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3
Translation of Geoffrey Chaucer, "The Knight's Tale", 1035-1037

‹T›Che Emilia, ch'era piu bella ~~a vedere~~ [9]
Che il giglio ↑bianco↓ sul suo ‹g›verde stelo
E piu fresco che la Maia quando

Text: Bodleian MS. Shelley adds. e. 8, p. 21.
Published: Rogers 1956, 342 (as a letter fragment); *PBSL*, II, 449 (as a letter fragment); *BSM*, VI, 124-125 (facsimile and transcription of MS.); *PS*, IV, 53; P.B. Shelley 2018a, 1191.

That Emelye, that fairer was to sene
Than is the lylie upon his stalke grene,
And fressher than the May with floures newe

[9] The translation, drafted *reverso* in the top margin of the page (which also contains the first part of No. 2, Fragment C), is cancelled with wavy strokes. Above the first line is a cancelled false start that seems to read "Era".

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4
"Sulla morte": review of Tommaso Sgricci's improvised tragedy *Ettore*

Sulla morte [10]

~~L'~~ La ~~Tragedia ave era fu il morte d'Ettore – La prima scena~~ Sul [11] il Sg[r] Sgricci dava un ac‹ce›ademia [12] di poesia ~~espe~~ estemporanea a Pisa, l'effetto delle quale forse sovrastava tutto cio ch'Italia mai conobbe in quel genere. e ~~suggetto fu, la morte d'~~Ettore ~~‹L›Il primo L'ode fu un~~ La morte d'Ettore fu il suggetto della sua tragedia, – ~~Cominciava quella dell La prima scena fu l'~~ Mai non fu ~~vis~~ un esibizione ~~si~~ cosi maravigliosa della forza della umana mente; ~~ni~~ l'immaginazione ↑del poeta↓ pareva ~~d'~~ ↑che↓ agi‹re›va ‹d›senza l'a‹g›jiuto dell'intelletto, ed ~~il ‹ap›poeta~~ appena ~~pareva~~ ↑sembrava↓ conscio, delle parole ‹tr›dittate a lui da qualche superna possa. – ↑I↓ Suo↑i↓ ~~moto~~ ↑gesti↓ ~~sua~~ ~~fl~~ il tuono ~~flessibile~~ della sua voce; il suo viso ↑tutto↓ ~~era~~ istinto [13] dalla ~~bella~~ vita della ispirazione; ~~ed~~ ↑ed↓ esprimendo, ~~by turns~~ ↑ognora↓, ~~le~~ ↑gli↓ varie ~~passion‹e›i, ed i v~~ moti d'anima ~~della dei creati~~, dei personaggi ~~communi~~ si communicava alla'anima de‹l›i ‹i›auditori i pass‹a›ioni che rappresentava egli e delle quale l'anima ~~era~~ fu, a vicende, penetrata. – La scena apri colla intrata – di Cassanda, invocando il suo ~~celeste~~ ↑immortale↓ amante; ~~riceven caricata~~ essa ~~gradually caricat diventa, momento seco~~ ↑~~il~~ il di cui spirito↓ spirito

[10] The review is written sideways (i.e. parallel to the spine) in the notebook, a home-made booklet of "landscape" format (width greater than height). The title appears to be incomplete.

[11] Shelley left a blank space after this word to insert the date of Tommaso Sgricci's performance, which took place on 22 January 1821 (*MWSJ*, 350).

[12] The spelling *academia* is an archaic literary variant of *accademia* (*DLI*, s.v.).

[13] A calque of the adjective "instinct", which translates as *imbevuto* or *pervaso* into Italian.

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scendeva sopra di lei, e furibonda dalla ~~sua~~ prescia [14] divinità, v‹i›aticinava ~~in accenti~~ la rovina della sua Troia. Intanto Ettore soppragiunge, e sorda alle pregieri della sorella mena i suoi seguaci ~~alt'~~ al↑~~la~~↓ ~~campo~~. ~~battaglia~~. ↑~~pugna~~.↓ ↑campo↓ ↑dove l'esercito greco l'aspetta, condotto da Patroclo travist[?ito] nelle ↑~~nei~~↓ armi di Achille.↓ ~~Ecuba~~ ~~Dopo~~ ↑Segue↓ una ~~in~~ scena fra Ecuba Cassandra, e Paride; quel ultim‹a›o ~~va~~ spinto dalle rampogne della madre va al campo. ~~In~~ ~~Dopo un inno cantato dal Coro alla Marte~~ ↑Vittoria↓, ei torna ~~colle~~ ↑arrecando le↓ nuove ~~della vittoria dei Trojani~~, che gli Trojani sono vincitori e che ~~Achille giace,~~ il ~~brando~~ ↑Achille giace↓ moriendo sotto la mano d'Ettore. Il suo elmo e gia slacciato, ~~dice~~ ↑già dice↓, e il brando ~~alla~~ alla gola. – Troia rimbomba della gridà di vittoria ‹–›, ~~L'effetto di questa scena~~ ↑in mezzo dell‹a›e quale↓ Cassandra rapita dal spirito di profe‹t›zia vaticini‹tato›na la morte del vincitore. L'effetto di questa scena fu sorperendente e ~~veramente~~ ↑altamente↓ ~~tragico~~ ↑dramatico↓; e ~~l'immagine nelle quale essa vestì~~ ~~il suo~~ ~~lo~~ il contrasto fra l'esultante gioia della città, ~~liberata (come pensato) dalle calamit~~ alla ↑~~alla~~ terribile dolore della↓ ~~furis~~ furente profetessa, ~~che gia vide, il corpo~~ ↑e ~~alla [?]~~ ~~alla~~ desolata sorella↓ che gia ~~vidde~~ ↑ve~~d~~de↓ il suo fratello e il sostegno della patria, ~~strascinato morto strascinato intorno~~ ~~alle mura di quella, ha niente di paragonand~~ ~~del~~ ~~e tutte le o~~ e vaccillando sotto ~~la vendetta~~ ↑il brando↓ d'Achille, strascinato intorno le mur‹e›a, ~~che gia ude le grida di disperazione con tutti ‹i a›gli accidenti le quale [?]~~ il quale ~~essa dipinge~~ il poeta dipinge con parole e gesti, ~~di~~ ~~che elettrizzavono~~ il Teatro; ↑trasfigurandosi a ciò che rappresentava,↓ ‹q›fu ~~concepito nel piu alto stile della poesia tragica. – Achille~~ fu nel piu alto stile della poesia tragica, ed ellettrizzava il Teatro ↑ne fu ellettri↓. – ~~Achille~~ Da quel ~~questo~~ punto la dramma ~~fa~~ ~~va~~ andava ~~th~~ tuttora innalzandosi. ~~e correva all suo s~~ ↑~~ed il~~↓ Achille travestito come messaggero di se stesso viene alla reggia di Priamo sfidare il uccissore del amico a [?s] sengolare tenzone. – Sua rabbia traluce, e s'avvampa nelle minaccie ~~piu~~ le piu terribile: ~~non e s~~ ~~la poesia delle sue passioni fu altissima – ed un sol punto svegliava applausi senza lim~~ ~~in~~ ~~immensi.~~ ~~L i~~ devove [15] l'ombra del uccissore di precedere cio

[14] A calque of "prescient", unattested in Italian.

[15] Shelley conjugated the third person singular present indicative form of the Latin verb *devoveo, -es, -vovi, -votum, -ere* ("to curse") with the corresponding desinence of Italian second and third conjugation verbs, thus obtaining the unattested form "devove".

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del uccisso amico al Inferno; ~~ed~~ la poesia di sua passione e altissima, ed un sol passo ~~tuoni~~ svegliava tuoni d'applausi – ~~il~~ diceva ad Ettore

> Tuo fato siede sull'elsa della mia spada
> E dal elsa al punto e picciol tratto –

Ettore lo invia intatto dalla regia. – Mai non fu dipinta in colori ‹si›piu veri ~~e si~~ ↑e↓ vivi l'intrecciato gioco dalle ~~piu~~ [?~~un~~] ~~piu violent~~ ↑~~connate e sociale passioni;~~↓ ↑~~passioni di natura e~~↓ vendetta ed amistà, e cortesia e dolore insanabile, ~~quanto~~ ↑che↓ in questa scena. – La ~~catastrophe~~ da quel punto l'interesse si precip‹a›itava↑va↓ al catastrophe ~~come un torrente~~ ↑a guisa di torrente↓ il ~~torrente di speranze~~ e timori ~~cercavono il loro riposo della nella mare di morte~~

Ettore allora si ~~parte~~ dal Andromacha e dal suo figlio – una scena piena di tenerezza; ~~e d‹i›'un n~~ ed ~~mentre~~ [?~~velo~~] ~~parte~~ e di novella beltà ~~e~~ l'Omero non era tradotto ni imitato in questa sua inimitabile ~~quadro di patern‹a›o rappresentazione~~ ↑pittura↓ di paterno e conjugale affetto; ~~ma~~ eppure c'erano passi non indegni di lui – ‹I›Al ~~Mentre Paride torna, annunziando il fatale successo spettatori, pare che Ma s una scena, che quando il padre Paride torna ann~~ Dalle murà Andromacha si'affretta annunziando che la pugna inclina in favore di Achille. Paride torna recando le fatale nuove, che Ettore e morto, e dipinge in ~~parole di terrore e~~ parole, il terrore ~~ed~~ il dolore delle quale faceva tremare, gli oltraggi fatti a‹d›l cadavere. Invano sarebbe tentare di dare un idea della conclusione: il misto dolore della ~~sposa~~ moglie e la madre, le vane consolazioni, le interrotte gridà. – ~~Il~~ La ~~dis~~ cupa e sublime affanno di Ecuba prolongata, ~~sotto o~~ e ~~pro per~~ e diffuso in parole, ~~dove~~ ↑nelle quale↓ la poes‹e›ia quantunque la più splendida, eppure fu ‹d›tinta dalla passione; ~~della or orbità gia compita, e~~ del ~~regno distrutto, della~~ ↑tremenda↓ ~~schiavitù~~ senza esempio chiudeva, ~~l'~~ questa poema, ~~de~~ maggiore d'ogni lode. –

I cori, dalle quali era divisa la tragedia furono, in quel genere, inparagonabili. – ~~Quello~~ ↑L'↓inno ~~della~~ alla Vittoria specialmente ~~essendo in rhythmo~~ producevava un fortissimo effetto. ↑Questi passi non ~~erano~~ furono dal poeta↓ C'era

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piuttosto un Dio che parlava in lui, e creava le idee piu rapidamente che l'intelletto umano può ↑avrebbe potuto↓ mai combinarle. – Egli stesso non fu consapevole delle ~~idee~~ imaggine, delle quale l'anima sua fu lo specchio; ~~ci piacerebbe di crederlo~~ – ~~la poesia e cosa divina e va~~ ~~fu, come la k›y›ira che producendo dolce melodia egli stesso se stessa non la ude~~ ~~un la div~~ ed i raggi l'Apolline stesso furono reflettati ~~sul~~ da qu‹al›ella – In quest‹i›o talento, ~~Italia~~ ↑e↓ tutt‹a›o ↑~~par~~↓ d'Italia – l'imaginazione [16] fa, fra di noi ~~l'opra del intelletto~~ in un momento ~~cio~~ ↑l'opra↓ che l'~~intene~~ intelletto cons‹u›omma fra gli altr‹e›i ↑~~nazioni~~↓ in ~~molti anni – e ci restano altre anime la vita il pegno e questo del suo~~ ↑lungo tempo, e dopo molte tentative.↓ ‹e›E questo dono ~~e il pegno del suo futuro,~~ ↑e↓ il pregio del ~~suo~~ ↑nostro↓ presente destino, ed il pegno del futuro. ~~Che una lunga poema~~ gli invidi ~~se fosse scritta crederanno~~ ↑diranno↓ forse, che se fosse scritta, una tragedia ~~di questa sorte g~~ prodotta in questo modo, ~~avrebbe certe falli d err~~ ↑manifesterebbe molte↓ imperfezioni nell'arte, che non sono sentit‹i›e nella recita. – Ma fra ~~que‹ll›sti~~ questi ~~lodati~~ chi e, chi producera, col ~~sudore d~~ olio e sudore d'un anno una tragedia ↑dove↓ non sar‹anno›ebbero mille falli ↑una folla di errori↓ da perdonare? O piuotosto chi fra loro abbia ~~il~~ ↑~~la~~↓ ↑ebbi ma questa↓ vera↑ce↓ ispirazione che ~~gli~~ ci invita a perdonargli‹?›lo? [17] ~~E chi~~ Sono meno forse le tragedie perfette che non creda il mondo; e ~~più~~ ↑molt↓ errori sono perdonati perche non sono conosciuti. – Intanto ~~che altra misura deve prendersi d~~ ↑~~la piu~~↓ il mezzo piu sicuro di misurare l'eccelezza d'alcuna poema ‹t›dramatica, e l'effetto che prodo‹ll›tta ~~ella~~ ↑d'ella↓, ed ognuno ~~fu~~

[16] A variant spelling of *immaginazione* (*DLI*, s.v.).

[17] At this point in the manuscript is a sentence which is isolated from the rest by two horizontal lines, and seems to have been reworked in the following passage: "Ognuno che fu testimone dell effetto prodigioso prodotto a↑l↓ ~~Pisa~~ Teatro di Pisa, accorderebbe su di questo" ("Everyone who witnessed the prodigious effect produced at the Theatre in Pisa would agree on this"). Probably Shelley would have moved it in the text, though it is difficult to tell where. A possible place for its insertion is immediately after the clause: "e delle quale l'anima ~~era~~ fu, a vicende, penetrata. –", which occurs several pages earlier in the manuscript. In the margin below the dash, along the notebook spine, one or more words have been traced in a minute, illegible hand. This might be a note indicating where the new sentence should be inserted, but it is not enough to justify the emendation.

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~~tes~~ presente ~~nel teatro di Pisa~~ ↑a ~~questa~~ Accedamia predetta↓ fu~~rono~~ testimoni ~~del alto mereto di quella~~ ↑d‹el›i quanto suo cuore, ‹c›fu commosso↓ quanto ~~sua~~ imaginnazione inalzata, quanto ~~lo~~' l'intelletto pago.

La udienza, fra la quale era ~~la colta~~ S. A. La duchessa de Chablais, ~~della la il di cui amore per le belle arte~~ ↑la di cui benignita ed amore per le belle arte e ~~ben decu~~ conosciuto↓ ~~fu digna~~ fu digna di ~~tale poetà~~ quanto ~~una sola città~~ Pisa ~~poteva dare~~ ↑sola potrebbe↓. ~~Fra gli Inglesi soggiornanti in quella città [?i] quali la~~ afford. ~~C'erano [?] [?gli] Inglesi, ai quale~~

L'udienza fu, ~~tutto cio che Pisa~~ essendo tutto ~~gr~~ cio che Pisa ↑~~ritiene~~↓ di gentile e di dotto [18]

Text: Bodleian MS. Shelley adds. e. 17, pp. 11-21.
Published: Dawson 1981, 24-27; *BSM*, XII, 28-49 (facsimile and transcription of MS.); P.B. Shelley 1995, 1332-1334; P.B. Shelley 2018b, 775-777.

On the death

On Mr Sgricci gave a performance of extempore poetry in Pisa, the effect of which surpassed perhaps all that Italy ever knew in that genre. The death of Hector was the subject of his tragedy – There has never been such a marvellous exhibition of the power of the human mind; the poet's imagination seemed to work without the aid of his intellect, and he scarcely seemed conscious, of the words dictated to him by some superior power. – His gestures the tone of his voice; his countenance being all instinct with the life of inspiration; and continually expressing the various movements of the characters' souls, the passions he represented were communicated to the spectators' souls, which were alternately penetrated by them. – The scene opened with the entrance of Cassandra, invoking her immortal lover; whose spirit descended upon

[18] The final two attempts at a new paragraph are partly covered with the sketch of a tree or twig, which has rendered a few words illegible.

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her, and she, furious for the prescient divinity, foretold the ruin of her Troy. Meanwhile Hector arrives, and deaf to the entreaties of his sister leads his followers to the field where the Greek army is waiting for him, led by Patroclus disguised in Achilles' arms. A scene follows between Hecuba Cassandra, and Paris; the latter driven by his mother's reproaches goes to the field. He returns bringing news that the Trojans are victorious and Achilles lies dying by the hand of Hector. His helmet is already unfastened, he already says, and the sword at his throat. – Troy resounds with cries of victory, amid which Cassandra overcome by the spirit of prophecy foretells the victor's death. The effect of this scene was astonishing and highly dramatic; and the contrast between the exultant joy of the city and the terrible sorrow of the furious prophetess and despairing sister, who already sees her own brother and the support of her country, staggering beneath Achilles' sword, dragged around the walls, which the poet depicts with words and gestures, transfiguring himself into what he represented, was in the highest style of tragic poetry, and it electrified the Theatre. – From that point the drama soared ever higher. Achilles disguised as his own messenger comes to the palace of Priam to challenge his friend's murderer to single combat. – His hatred shines through, and flares up in the most terrible threats: he curses the murderer's shade to precede that of his murdered friend to Hell; the poetry of his passion is of the highest order, and a single passage awakened thunders of applause – he said to Hector

> Your fate sits on the hilt of my sword
> And the way is short from the hilt to the point –

Hector sends him unharmed from the palace. – Never has the intricate play of vengeance and friendship, and courtesy and irremediable sorrow, been depicted in truer and more vivid colours than in this scene. – From that point the interest rushed forward to the catastrophe like a torrent

Hector then {takes his leave} of Andromache and his son – a scene full of tenderness; and fresh beauty Homer was neither translated nor imitated in this inimitable picture of paternal and conjugal affection of his; yet there were passages

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not unworthy of him – Andromache rushes from the walls announcing that the fight inclines in Achilles' favour. Paris returns bringing the fatal news that Hector is dead, and he depicts the outrages done to the corpse in words, the terror and sorrow of which made one tremble. It would be vain to attempt to give an idea of the conclusion: the mingled grief of the wife and the mother, the idle consolations, the broken cries. – Hecuba's grim and sublime distress prolonged, and diffused in words, in which poetry though the most splendid, was yet imbued with passion; concluded this poem, which stands above all praise, in an unexampled manner. –

The choruses, by which the tragedy was divided, were without parallel in that genre. – The hymn to Victory especially produced a most powerful effect. These passages were not from the poet Rather there was a God speaking inside him, and creating ideas more rapidly than the human intellect could ever have combined them. – He himself was not aware of the images, of which his soul was the mirror; and the rays of Apollo himself were reflected in it – This talent, is quintessentially Italian – among us, the imagination does the work in an instant which the intellect accomplishes among others over a long time, and after many attempts. And this gift is the merit of our present destiny, and the pledge of our future. The envious will say perhaps, that if it were written, a tragedy produced in this way, would display many artistic imperfections, which are not perceived in the recitation. – But among them who is there, who will produce, with the oil and sweat of a year a tragedy in which there would not be a crowd of errors to be forgiven? Or rather who among them has ever had this true inspiration which invites us to pardon him his errors? Perfect tragedies are perhaps less numerous than the world may think; and many errors are forgiven because they are not known. – Meanwhile the safest means of measuring the excellence of any dramatic poem, is the effect produced by it, and all those present at the said performance were witnesses of the extent to which their heart was moved, their imagination exalted, their intellect satisfied.

The audience, among whom was Her Highness the Duchess de Chablais, whose benignity towards and love of the fine arts is known, was worthy of what Pisa alone could.

The audience was, being everything noble and learned that Pisa

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5
Translation of *Epipsychidion*, 3-4

~~Nel tempio del mio core, ti s~~
Sul altare del ~~mio core~~ ↑nostro amore↓, a te, Sorella
Ti ~~offerisco~~ questi pallidi fiori –

Text: Bodleian MS. Shelley adds. e. 12, p. 37.
Published: *BSM*, XVIII, 38-39 (facsimile and transcription of MS.); *PS*, IV, 187; P.B. Shelley 2018a, 1191.

In ~~my~~ ↑the↓ hearts temple I suspend to thee
This funeral wreath of ~~fu~~ withered memory

(Draft of *Epipsychidion*, in Bodleian MS. Shelley adds. e. 12, p. 38)

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6
Translation of *Epipsychidion*, 1-2

Anima ~~bell~~ ~~dolce~~, ↑~~tu~~,↓ ↑~~bella~~,↓ ↑~~pura~~↓ ↑dolce,↓ che sei, la sorella [19]
Di quell~~a~~'orfana anima, ~~che r~~ ↑r↓↑che regge↓
~~Quel~~ Il nome e la forma mia, bella

Text: Ashley MS. 4086, fol. 2r.
Published: P.B. Shelley 1887, n.p. (facsimile); *The Poems of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, II, 453; De Bosis 1913, 16; Rogers 1956, 236, n. 2; *MYRS*, II, 11 (facsimile and transcription of MS.); *BSM*, XVIII, 56-57 (facsimile and transcription of MS.); *PS*, IV, 188; P.B. Shelley 2018a, 1192.

Sweet Spirit, Sister of that ~~lone~~ ↑[?~~wronged~~]↓ ↑orphan one↓
~~Whose empire~~ ‹~~are~~›is the name thou weepest on
Whose empire ~~are thes~~ ↑is ~~this form~~ ~~this~~↓

(Draft of *Epipsychidion*, in Bodleian MS. Shelley adds. e. 12, p. 38)

[19] The lines are preceded by a cancelled false start reading "sopra l'altar" ("on the altar"), which reveals their close connection with No. 5. The indentation is clearly visible in the manuscript and suggests Shelley may have attempted a *terza rima* translation (the first two lines are hendecasyllables).

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7
Translation of “To S[idmouth] and C[astlereagh]”, 1-4

Come, dal una avita quercia
Due cornacchie vote suonano il loro corno
‹Grido›Urlo per urlo, e [ ]
Quando sentono l’odore mezzog

Text: Bodleian MS. Shelley adds. e. 12, p. 149.
Published: *BSM*, XVIII, 184-185 (facsimile and transcription of MS.); *PS*, IV, 93; P.B. Shelley 2018a, 1177.

As from their ancestral oak
Two empty ravens wind their clarion
Yell by yell, & croak for croak
When they scent the noonday smoke
(Fair copy of “To S[idmouth] and C[astlereagh]”, in Bodleian MS. Shelley adds. e. 12, p. 60)

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8
Translation of *Prometheus Unbound*, 2.5.72-110

Mia anima e ~~com~~ una barca incantata [20]
Che ~~fluita~~ ↑ondeggia↓ come un cigno che dorme,
Sul argentee onde della tua soave armonia –
E ↑la↓ tua siede come un spirito del cielo
Presso al timone, ~~conduc~~ ↑guidandola↓
Mentre tutte le aure con melodia ~~sono carche~~ ↑suonano↓
Sembra ~~rivolgersi~~ ↑~~girarsi~~↓ ↑ondeggiare↓ sempre, sempre,
Sopra ~~il~~ ↑~~quel~~↓ ↑il↓ lab‹y›irintoso fiume
Fra montagne selve abissi
Un paradiso dei eremi
Finche, come ~~uno~~ ↑uno↓ involto in sonno
Fr[ ] al oceano, ~~cerca, qui~~ ↑sono↓ [ ]
Nel mare profondissimo, di suono dilatato. [21]

Intanto ~~mio~~ ↑tuo↓ spirito ‹a›spiega i vanni
‹D›Nei regni piu serene di melodia

[20] The speaker's name ("Asia") before these lines is omitted.
[21] Shelley inserted a line of space after this line to separate the first and second stanzas of Asia's lyric, which were erroneously conjoined in his source text, i.e. the first edition of the poem.

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Traendo l'a‹ria›ere di quel felice cielo
E navigeamo lantona, via,
Senza ~~corso~~ ↑porto↓, e senza stella
Impulsi dal instinto di ~~spi~~ soave suono
Finche, nel↑le↓ ‹is›Elisee isolette ~~di giardini~~ ↑~~di Eden~~↓
La barca del mio desiri ~~arriva~~ ↑s'aggira↓
Guidati da te, piu dolce dei galetti
Dove mortale legna mai non solcava
Regni, dove ~~th~~ l'aria che si respira, e amore;
Che move sopra i flutti e dentro ai venti
Armonizando <u>questa</u> terra con tutto che speriamo in cielo.

Abbiamo passate le gelate spelonce di vecchiezza
E gli oscuri e inqueti flutti di viririta,
E l'oceano lucido di Gioventu, che sorridè per tradire;
Volammo al di la le vitrée golfe ~~di Infanzia~~
Di infanzia, ombra-popolata
Per Morte, e Parto, ad un di piu divino
Un Paradise di ~~inarcati~~ ↑sopra trecciati↓ ~~fiori~~ ↑alberi↓
Illumati da fiori che inchiano gli occhi giù
E semite aquée che si volgano ~~fra~~ intorno
Deserti silentissimi e verdi;

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Popolati da forme troppo radianti di belta, da ve‹v›dere
E riposare, ~~essendo ve~~ ↑avendo vedute↓; come te
Che camminano sopra le onde e ~~cammin~~ cantando armoniosamente.

Text: Bodleian MS. Shelley adds. e. 8, pp. 84 *rev.* - 82 *rev.*
Published: *BSM*, VI, 250-255 (facsimile and transcription of MS.); P.B. Shelley 1995, 1328-1329; Capelli 2009, 212-214; *PS*, IV, 16-17; P.B. Shelley 2018a, 1178-1179.

ASIA.

My soul is an enchanted boat,
Which, like a sleeping swan, doth float
Upon the silver waves of thy sweet singing;
And thine doth like an angel sit
Beside the helm conducting it,
Whilst all the winds with melody are ringing.
It seems to float ever, for ever,
Upon that many-winding river,
Between mountains, woods, abysses,
A paradise of wildernesses!
Till, like one in slumber bound,
Borne to the ocean, I float down, around,
Into a sea profound, of ever-spreading sound:

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Meanwhile thy spirit lifts its pinions
In music's most serene dominions;
Catching the winds that fan that happy heaven.
And we sail on, away, afar,
Without a course, without a star,
But, by the instinct of sweet music driven;
Till through Elysian garden islets
By thee, most beautiful of pilots,
Where never mortal pinnace glided,
The boat of my desire is guided:
Realms where the air we breathe is love,
Which in the winds on the waves doth move,
Harmonizing this earth with what we feel above.

We have pass'd Age's icy caves,
And Manhood's dark and tossing waves,
And Youth's smooth ocean, smiling to betray:
Beyond the glassy gulphs we flee
Of shadow-peopled Infancy,
Through Death and Birth, to a diviner day;
A paradise of vaulted bowers,
Lit by downward-gazing flowers,

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And watery paths that wind between
Wildernesses calm and green,
Peopled by shapes too bright to see,
And rest, having beheld; somewhat like thee;
Which walk upon the sea, and chaunt melodiously!

(P.B. Shelley 1820, 94-95)

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9
Translation of *Prometheus Unbound*, 2.5.48-71

Una Voce nel aere
Vita della Vita! tue labbre accendano
Il fiato fra di loro, col suo amore;
E tuoi sorrisi innanzi che ↑si↓ dilegu‹o›ano
Infocano il freddo aere, allora si nascondano
In quei sguardi, dove nessuno guata
Che non svenni, int‹e›recciato ‹in›fra loro laberinti.

Figlia della Luce! tue membra ardono
Per la veste che le celasse
Come ~~g~~le radianti striscie della ~~ma~~ alba
A traverso delle nuvole, prima che ‹gli›le spezzano
E questa atmos‹p›fera divinissima
Ti involge, dovunque tu risplendi

Altre sieno belle – nessun ti può videre [22] –
Ma tua voce è tenera e dolce
Come quella della piu bella – perchè, t'~~invill~~ ↑inviluppa↓

[22] Latin for "to see" (*vedere* in Italian).

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‹?V›Dalla vista, quel ~~li~~ aerio splendore
E tutte sentono, ~~come io sento ora~~ ↑senza mai vederti,↓ [23]
Come io sento ora, perduto per giammai

Lampa della Terra! dovunque tu ti movi
Sue oscure forme son ↑r↓ vestite dai~~i~~ raggi;
Le anime di loro che tu ami
Cammin‹o›ano sopra a‹i›l vent‹i›o, con legereza ↑[?su]↓;
‹Pe›Finche cadono, come io cado
Vertiginoso, perduto, – ma senza guai.

Asia [24]

Text: Bodleian MS. Shelley d. 1, fols. 109^{r} *rev.* - 108^{v} *rev.*
Published: Koszul 1922, 472-473; Rogers 1956, 343; P.B. Shelley 1959, 677-678; *BSM*, IV, Part II, 2-5 (facsimile and transcription of MS.); P.B. Shelley 1995, 1327; Capelli 2009, 211-212; *PS*, IV, 14-15; P.B. Shelley 2018a, 1177-1178.

VOICE IN THE AIR, SINGING.
Life of Life! thy lips enkindle
With their love the breath between them;

[23] This classic copying error, due to eye-skip, indicates that the text is a fair copy.
[24] The speaker's name signals that Shelley was going to fair-copy his draft translation of the following lines as well, i.e. No. 8.

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And thy smiles before they dwindle
Make the cold air fire; then screen them
In those looks, where whoso gazes
Faints, entangled in their mazes.

Child of Light! thy lips are burning
Thro' the vest which seems to hide them;
As the radiant lines of morning
Thro' the clouds ere they divide them;
And this atmosphere divinest
Shrouds thee wheresoe'er thou shinest.

Fair are others; none beholds thee,
But thy voice sounds low and tender
Like the fairest, for it folds thee
From the sight, that liquid splendour,
And all feel, yet see thee never,
As I feel now, lost for ever!

Lamp of Earth! where'er thou movest
Its dim shapes are clad with brightness
And the souls of whom thou lovest

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Walk upon the winds with lightness,
Till they fail, as I am failing,
Dizzy, lost, yet unbewailing!

(P.B. Shelley 1820, 92-94)

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10
Translation of *Prometheus Unbound*, 4.1-82

Le pallide stelle sono ↑s↓fuggite [25] –
Perche il Sole, loro rapido Pastore,
Costringendole a loro mandre
Ne‹ll›i abiss‹o›i della'Alba
S'affretta in veste meteore-eclissante, – e ſfuggono
Oltre suo azzuro regno
Come cerve fuggono la pantera. –
Ma dove siete voi?

Qui, oh qui
Portiamo la bara
Del Padre dei molti cancellati anni
Spettri noi
Dell ore morte
Portiamo Tempo alla sua tomba in Eternità

[25] The scene description at the beginning of the act, stage direction before line 9, and speaker headings before lines 1, 61, and 69 are omitted.

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Spargete spargete
Non tasso, ma chioma
~~Umidate la polverosa [ ], [?co]~~
Sia la polverosa [ ] umida, da lagrime non rugiada.
Sieno le marchite fiore
Delle s[ ]
Sparse sul cadavere del Rè delle ore.

Affretta, affretta
Come ombre ~~sono cacciate~~ ↑tremolonte↓
Sono cacciate dal Aurora dal purpur‹oe›eo solitudine del cielo. [26]
Noi ci dileguano
Come spuma che dissolve
~~Per~~ ↑Innanzi al↓ ‹i›gli eredi d↑i↓'- uno di più divino
Alla ~~sinfonia~~
Dei venti che mouiono
Sullo seno di loro stessa armonia.

Ione
Che forme oscure sono queste

[26] The full stop incorrectly placed at the end of this line also occurs in Shelley's source text, i.e. the first edition of the poem.

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Panthea
~~Co~~ Le passate Ore, debole e canute [27]
Col spogli che loro lavoro
Ammuchiava insieme
Dalle vittorie, che Uno sola poteva respingere.

Ione
Sono ~~passat‹i›e~~ ↑partite↓?

‹Ione›P
Passat‹i›e Partite
Il vento era tardo a loro ‹p›volo –
Mentre parliamo, sono sfuggite~~?~~ –

Ione
Dove, o, dove?

P.
All‹e›a tenebr‹e›oso, al passato, al morte. –

[27] The false start is a copying error indicating that the text is a transcript of a now lost draft.

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Voci dei Spiriti invisibli.
Bianche nuvole ~~si~~ ondeggiano in cielo
Stelle di rugiada ardono ~~sulla~~ ↑sopra↓ terra
Flutti si [ ] sulla~~'~~Oceano
Sono raccolti, e cacciati
Dal Turbine di gioia, dal panico di diletto
~~Sono~~ Tremano col emozione
Ballono in allegreza –
Ma dove siete voi?

I rani dei pini cantono
Vecchi canti con nuova gioja
Le onde e le fontane
~~Innalza~~ Svegliano una nuova armonia
Come le note d'uno Spir‹a›ito, per terra e mare ~~e cielo~~.
Le tempeste rispondono alle montagni
Col tuono di su‹a›o diletto –
Ma dove siete voi?

[ ] [28]

[28] Shelley did not translate line 56, which consists of an exchange between Ione and Panthea.

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Semichoro delle Ore
La voce degli Spiriti del aere e della terra
Ha [ ] la cortina figurata di sonno
Che copriva nostro essere, e oscurava nostro parto
Nel abiss‹io›o

Una voce:
Nel abisso?

Semicoro
O, sotto al abisso

Per cento secoli noi eravamo tenut‹i›e
Cullate nelle visioni del odio, e del afanno [29]
E ciascudeno, che svegliava, mentre il fratello dormiva
Trovava la verita –

Semic. 2.
Peggiore dei sue visioni

[29] Unlike in Shelley's source text, lines 62 and 64 are clearly indented in the manuscript.

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Semichorus 1

Abbiamo ~~sentiti~~ ↑uditi↓ l‹'›a harpa di Speranza in sonno,
Abbiamo riconosciuti la voce del A‹l›more in visioni
Abbiamo sentiti la virga di Potere, ‹s›e c'innalziamo

~~Una voce~~ Semi. 2.

Come i flutti s'inalzono sotto ai mattutini raggi.

Int‹re›essate la danza sul suolo del aura
Penetrate la silente luce del cielo col canto
Incantate il di, che troppo veloce fuggè
Di frenare il suo corso ‹d›innanzi la caverna della Notte.

Una volta, le bramose ore, erano cani
Che cacciavano il di, come una ferita cerva
Ed essa, titubava e zoppicava, con molte piage
Per le notturne valli del eremo anno

Ma ora – ‹in›oh intrecciate la mistica misura
Del canto, e danza, e forme ~~della luce~~ ↑luminose↓
Che le ore, ed i spiriti del Piacere e del Potere
Come nuvole e raggi, s'uniscono –

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Una

~~Uui~~ Unite!

P. Vedi dove, gli Spiriti dell'umana mente
Involte in su‹o›ave suoni, ~~che~~ come in veli luminosi, s'appressano

Coro dei S [30]

Text: Bodleian MS. Shelley d. 1, fols. 107[v] *rev.* - 105[r] *rev.*
Published: Koszul 1922, 473-475; P.B. Shelley 1959, 678-681; *BSM*, IV, Part II, 8-19 (facsimile and transcription of MS.); *PS*, IV, 18-22; P.B. Shelley 2018a, 1179-1182.

SCENE, A PART OF THE FOREST NEAR THE CAVE OF PROMETHEUS. PANTHEA AND IONE ARE SLEEPING: THEY AWAKEN GRADUALLY DURING THE FIRST SONG.

VOICE OF UNSEEN SPIRITS.

The pale stars are gone!
For the sun, their swift shepherd,
To their folds them compelling,
In the depths of the dawn,
Hastes, in meteor-eclipsing array, and they flee

[30] The abbreviated speaker heading ("Chorus of S[pirits]") indicates that the draft Shelley was fair-copying continued.

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Beyond his blue dwelling,
As fawns flee the leopard.
But where are ye?

A TRAIN OF DARK FORMS AND SHADOWS PASSES BY CONFUSEDLY, SINGING.

Here, oh, here:
We bear the bier
Of the Father of many a cancelled year!
Spectres we
Of the dead Hours be,
We bear Time to his tomb in eternity.

Strew, oh, strew
Hair, not yew!
Wet the dusty pall with tears, not dew!
Be the faded flowers
Of Death's bare bowers
Spread on the corpse of the King of Hours!

Haste, oh, haste!
As shades are chased,

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Trembling, by day, from heaven's blue waste.
We melt away,
Like dissolving spray,
From the children of a diviner day,
With the lullaby
Of winds that die
On the bosom of their own harmony!

IONE.
What dark forms were they?

PANTHEA.
The past Hours weak and grey,
With the spoil which their toil
Raked together
From the conquest but One could foil.

IONE.
Have they past?

PANTHEA.
They have past;

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They outspeeded the blast,
While 'tis said, they are fled:

IONE.
Whither, oh, whither?

PANTHEA.
To the dark, to the past, to the dead.

VOICE OF UNSEEN SPIRITS.
Bright clouds float in heaven,
Dew-stars gleam on earth,
Waves assemble on ocean,
They are gathered and driven
By the storm of delight, by the panic of glee!
They shake with emotion,
They dance in their mirth.
But where are ye?

The pine boughs are singing
Old songs with new gladness,
The billows and fountains
Fresh music are flinging,

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Like the notes of a spirit from land and from sea;
The storms mock the mountains
With the thunder of gladness.
But where are ye?

IONE. What charioteers are these?
PAN. Where are their chariots?

SEMICHORUS OF HOURS.
The voice of the Spirits of Air and of Earth
Have drawn back the figured curtain of sleep
Which covered our being and darkened our birth
In the deep.

A VOICE.
In the deep?

SEMICHORUS II.
Oh, below the deep.

SEMICHORUS I.
An hundred ages we had been kept
Cradled in visions of hate and care,

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And each one who waked as his brother slept,
Found the truth –

SEMICHORUS II.

Worse than his visions were!

SEMICHORUS I.

We have heard the lute of Hope in sleep;
We have known the voice of Love in dreams,
We have felt the wand of Power, and leap –

SEMICHORUS II.

As the billows leap in the morning beams!

CHORUS.

Weave the dance on the floor of the breeze,
Pierce with song heaven's silent light,
Enchant the day that too swiftly flees,
To check its flight ere the cave of night.

Once the hungry Hours were hounds
Which chased the day like a bleeding deer,

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And it limped and stumbled with many wounds
Through the nightly dells of the desart year.

But now, oh weave the mystic measure
Of music, and dance, and shapes of light,
Let the Hours, and the spirits of might and pleasure,
Like the clouds and sunbeams, unite.

A VOICE.

Unite!

PAN. See, where the Spirits of the human mind
Wrapt in sweet sounds, as in bright veils, approach.

(P.B. Shelley 1820, 121-126)

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11
Translation of *The Revolt of Islam*, 667-698

~~La~~ ↑Il↓ stellat‹a›o sorriso dei infanti, i sguardi soavi [31]
Di donne, il ~~petto~~ ↑seno↓ bianco ↑dal↓ quale ↑io↓ mi nutriva
Il murmurare degli irriquieti ruscelli
E il verde lume, che [ ] sopra la testa
Una intrecciata pergola di vigne mi spargeva
Le conche sopra la marina sponda, e i fiori
E ↑i↓~~la~~ lume della lampa, sparsa per gli travi ~~della mia~~ [32]
~~Che~~ ‹E›Queste viste e suoni nelle prime ore della mia vita
Nutrivano dentro di me l'avvolte forze del spirito

Questi impulsi ‹?ar›eranno dati alla mia mortale natura
In argoli, presso al rimbombante mare,
E~~d~~ sono ancora, cari a memoria
Come i doni d'un ~~amico~~ ↑amato↓ morto; ma altri venivano
Presto, in una altra forma, – la'alta fama

[31] Stanza numbers are omitted.

[32] The cancellation corrects a copying error due to eye-skip (the words belong to the following line), indicating that Shelley was not translating at sight but transcribing from a draft.

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Del mondo passato, le ~~pa~~ vitale parole ed atti
Delle anime, indominable da tempo o da ~~canbi~~ ↑mutazione↓
Tradizioni ~~oscure~~ ↑cupe↓ ed antiche, dove cattivi fedi
Sorgeono, e la oscura ~~ombra~~ ↑fonte↓ dei quali nutria un fiume di veleno

↑Io↓ Udi, come tutti odono, la ‹s›varia storia
Di umiana vita, e lagrima. –
Debili storichi della sua vergogna e gloria,
Falsi casuisti sopra sue speranze e timori
Vittime che adavorono il sacrificatore, memorialisti
Di giornaliero scorno, e schiavi che odiavono loro schiavitu,
E pure, lusignando Potere, ~~gli~~ dava a suoi ministri
Un trono di giudizio anche al di la della tomba, – questi erano
Se‹n›condo il mio destino i compagni del mio desolato core.

La patria mia era marchi‹ta›ata da una
Amara peste – Tiranni fra di noi abitavono
E [ ] nelle nostre case – infinochè la catena
Strangolava il grido del captivo, e uomini
Non si facevano vergogna di tolerare quel oltraggento tutti [33]

[33] The word "tutti" ("all") is alone written in the top margin of Bodleian MS. Shelley d. 1, fol. 102^{v} *rev.*, slightly to the right of the centre. The last word of line 698, "vied", is not translated.

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Text: Bodleian MS. Shelley d. 1, fols. 103[v] *rev.* - 102[v] *rev.*
Published: Koszul 1922, 476-477; *BSM*, IV, Part II, 24-29 (facsimile and transcription of MS.); *PS*, IV, 23-24; P.B. Shelley 2018a, 1175-1176.

I.

The star-light smile of children, the sweet looks
Of women, the fair breast from which I fed,
The murmur of the unreposing brooks,
And the green light which shifting overhead,
Some tangled bower of vines around me shed,
The shells on the sea-sand, and the wild flowers,
The lamp-light thro' the rafters cheerly spread,
And on the twining flax – in life's young hours
These sights and sounds did nurse my spirits' folded powers.

II.

In Argolis, beside the echoing sea,
Such impulses within my mortal frame
Arose, and they were dear to memory,
Like tokens of the dead: – but others came
Soon, in another shape: the wondrous fame
Of the past world, the vital words and deeds

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Of minds whom neither time nor change can tame,
Traditions dark and old, whence evil creeds
Start forth, and whose dim shade a stream of poison feeds.

III.

I heard, as all have heard, the various story
Of human life, and wept unwilling tears.
Feeble historians of its shame and glory,
False disputants on all its hopes and fears,
Victims who worshipped ruin, – chroniclers
Of daily scorn, and slaves who loathed their state
Yet flattering power had given its ministers
A throne of judgment in the grave: – 'twas fate,
That among such as these my youth should seek its mate.

IV.

The land in which I lived, by a fell bane
Was withered up. Tyrants dwelt side by side,
And stabled in our homes, – until the chain
Stifled the captive's cry, and to abide
That blasting curse men had no shame – all vied

(P.B. Shelley 1818b, 32-34)

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12
"Ode alla Libertà"

I (Draft)

1 [34]

Un popolo glorioso vibrava ancora
Il fulmine delle nazioni – Libertà
Da core a core, da torre a torre, per Spagna,
Spargendo per l'aere contagiosa luce ↑fuoco↓
Balenò. Mia anima sprezzava i ceppi d‹i›el suo timore,
E si vestì esultante e fiero
Nelle piume rapide di ~~‹c›Canto~~ ↑armonia↓;
Battendo l'ale in poesia ↑~~canto~~↓ sopra l'usata preda
Come una aquila ~~giovane~~ ↑se↓ ru↑i↓ota fra le mattutine nuvole.
Finchè, dalla sua ~~stazione~~ ↑posto↓ ~~del~~ ↑nel↓ cielo della fama
Il turbine dello Spirito l‹o›a rapiva, ed i raggi
Della piu remota s‹p›fera di vivente flamma [35]

[34] The draft is written on three bifolia (currently misfoliated); a now missing fourth bifolium almost certainly contained stanzas 14-18. Stanza numbers are omitted for stanzas 13 and 19. The title, epigraph (from Byron's *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, 4.874-875), and author's note to line 92 are not translated.

[35] Here and in the fair copy Shelley used the Latin nominative form "flamma" ("flame") for the Italian *fiamma*.

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Che strisciavano ↑~~lastricano~~↓ il vano ↑vuoto↓, erano spinti ~~al~~ dietro di lei,
Come spuma d'una rapida prora – quando ~~veniva~~ ↑venne↓
Una voce dal profondo. – io la canterò. –

2

Il Sole e la ~~serenissima~~ ↑serena↓ Luna ~~uscivano di nulla~~, ↑sorsero dal nulla;↓
Le ardente stelle dell'abisso erano rotate
~~Fra~~ ↑A traverso↓ le caverne dell cielo. La dædal‹a›ea terra,
Questa isola nell'oceano ~~dell'~~ del mondo,
Tremolava ↑Era↓ sospesa in suo manto dell aria ~~tutto-pascente~~ ↑~~ogni~~↓ ↑che sostenie tutto↓;
Ma questo piu divino Universo,
Era ancora [?~~ch~~] caos e nulla,
Perchè Tu non ~~fosti~~ ↑eri↓. Ma ~~Forza~~ ↑il Potere↓ d‹i›al ~~peggio~~ ↑male↓ producendo ~~peggiore~~ ↑il peggio↓,
Accendeva ~~là~~ ↑colà↓ ~~il~~ ↑lo↓ spirito degli animale ter‹e›rene,
E de‹ll›gli aerei uccelli, e dell‹'›e ~~acquee~~ ↑marine↓ forme;
E la guerra era fra ‹l›di loro, e ↑la↓ disperazione
Dentro di loro, infuriando senza tregua ~~ni~~ ↑e senza↓ legge.
Il seno della di loro violata madre
Gem‹i›è, perchè ↑la↓ belv‹e›a faceva~~no~~ guerra ~~alle~~ ↑alla↓ belv‹e›a ↑~~a bel~~↓ ↑~~a belve~~↓, ↑i↓~~le~~ verme a↑l↓ verme
E uomo al uomo; ciascun core era un Inferno di tempeste.

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3

↑L'↓Uomo, l'imperiale forma, multiplic‹ò›ava allora
↑Le↓ Su‹oi›e generazioni sotto al padiglione
Del trono del~~lo~~ Sole. palazzi e piramidi
Tempii e ~~torre e~~ prigione, a sue fervente schiame
Erano, come spelonche ai ↑silvestri↓ lupi ~~del~~ monte ↑~~mont~~↓. –
Questa folla umana e vivente
Era selvaggia, scaltra, cieca ed ~~indominata~~ ↑indomabile↓
Perchè Tu non ~~fosti~~ ↑eri↓. ma, sopra la solitudine popolata,
Come una nuvola minacciante, sopra ‹un›il eremo ~~de‹gl›lli~~ ↑dei↓ flutti
~~Tir~~ Il Dispotismo era sospeso. Sotto, sedeva idolatrata
~~La Sorella Peste~~ ↑Una Peste, sua sorella↓, congregatrice di schiavi;
Sotto al ombra di sue penne large,
Anarchi e preti che si pascono dall'oro e ~~dell~~ sangue,
Finchè loro intime anime sono invelenate di questo cibo ↑~~di~~↓,
Cacciarono gli attoni‹niti›ti armenti dell'uomini, da ogni lato.

4

Gli promontorii natanti, e le isole azzure
‹Il›E ↑le↓ montagne nuvoliforme, e ~~dividenti~~ ↑interflui↓ ↑dividenti↓ flutti
Di Grecia, giacevano ↑scaldavansi↓ gloriosamente nello sorriso aperto
Di cielo favorevelole. – dalle incantate ~~caverne~~ ↑spelonche↓

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Eco prophetic‹e›he spargevano melodia ~~oscura~~ ↑fiocca↓
Per l'eremo <u>che sent‹e›ì nulla</u>.
La vigna, la biada, il olivo
~~Erano~~ ~~An~~ Erano ancora sfrenati, non reconciliati al umano uso.
E, ↑sic↓come fiore marine ↑non↓ ~~in~~sviluppate sotto all'onde,
Come il pensiero dell uomo oscuro nell infante cerebro,
~~Cio~~ Come cosa che e, ‹inv›che inviluppa↑ndo↓ ~~quel~~ ↑cio↓ che sarà,
‹La›Gli immortali sogni dell'arte giacevano velati sotto molte vene
Di Pario sasso; e ancora un ‹sen›infante senza parole,
Poesia murmura, e ↑~~all~~↓ ↑la↓ Philoso‹ph›fia aguzzava
↑I↓ ~~Suoi~~ ↑Gli↓ occhi ~~spalpebrati~~ ↑senza palpebre↓ per te. – quando sopra l'Egeo

6 ~~6~~ 5

Atene ~~si inalzava~~ ↑sorgea↓, una città tale, Estasi
Edifica‹rebbe›sse dalle purpuree rupe, ed argentée torre
Di nuvola ~~castellata~~ ↑merlata↓, quasi in scorno
Del↑la↓ ↑piu↓ regale architettura, ~~il~~ ↑i↓ ~~suolo~~ ↑~~paven~~↓ suolo marino
~~F~~ ↑~~Sarebbe~~↓ ↑Fosse↓ suo pavimento, il cielo della sera ~~suo~~ ↑suo↓ padiglione.
Su‹a›e corte ~~son fervono~~ ↑~~sarebbero~~↓ ↑fossero↓ frequentati
Da↑i↓ Venti vestiti in nebbia e ~~fulgore~~ ↑~~fulmine~~↓ ↑tuono↓, ogni testa dei quali
‹È›F ↑Fosse↓ ↑in↓~~in~~ghirland‹i›ata dei raggi del Sole, sotto le ali nuvolose. –
Una divina opera. Atene piu divina

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Balen‹a›ò ~~col su~~ con ↑sua↓ cresta ~~delle~~ ↑di↓ colonne ↑~~posta~~↓ ↑~~fondata~~↓ ↑posata↓ ~~sopra il~~ ↑sul↓
volere
Del u‹m›omo, come sul un monte di diamante,
Perche ‹t›Tu allora ~~fosti~~ ↑, fosti↓, e tua ~~ogni~~ ↑~~onni-p~~↓ ↑arte <u>onnicreatrice</u>↓
Popolava con forme in scorno a‹l›gli eterni morti
~~Una~~ Con marmorea immortalita, quel colle
Che era tuo primo trono, e sara l'ultimo oraculo.

~~7~~ 6

~~Infra la~~ ↑Dentro alla↓ faccia del fiume ~~labente~~ ↑scorrente↓ de‹i›l Temp‹i↑o↓›o
Giace l'immagine crespa ~~del~~ ↑di↓ Atene, come allora giaceva,
Immovibilmente inquieta ↑irrequieta↓, – in eterno
Trema, ma mai non ~~si~~ può svanire. –
‹I›Le voci dei suoi ↑t↓ poeti e savi tuonano
‹P›Con un <u>suono</u> <u>terra</u>-svegliante, ↑la terra↓
Per le ~~cavennte~~ caverne del passato ~~tempo~~.
Religione vela gli occhi. Despotismo ↑at↓territo fugge
‹A›Una alata armonia di gioia ed amore e mara‹f›viglia
Che ~~s'inalzal~~ ↑batte l'ale↓ dove Speranza mai non vola
Squarciando il velo del↑lo↓ spazio e del Tempo.
Un solo Oceano pasce le nuvole, le ~~acq e~~ ↑onde,↓ la rugiada;
Un~~o~~ solo Sole illumina cielo <u>~~e terra~~</u>, – un sol↑o↓ spirito vasto

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Eternamente ricrea caos co‹n›lla vita e col amore,
~~Ed~~ ↑Come↓ Atene rinnouva il mondo con tuo diletto, Libertà.

~~8~~ 7

Roma allora fu, e dal tuo profondo seno,
Come un lupicino allatato dalla Cadmea Mænade
Essa munse il latte della grandezza, quantunque la ~~vostra piu~~ tua piu cara figlia
~~Era~~ Non era ancora svezzata da quello Elisio cibo [36]
E molti atti d‹el›i virtù terribile
Erano sanctificati dall'amore di te –
Ed in ~~luce~~ ↑lume↓ del vostro sorriso, ‹a›e ~~al canto tuo~~ ↑a~~l~~ canto di te↓
Visse il santo Camillo, e il fermo Attilio mori. –
Ma ~~quando~~ allorchè lagrimè machiavano ~~vostro~~ tuo manto di vestale bianchezza
E sangue ↑l'oro↓ contaminava tuo trono capitalonio
Tu lasci‹à,›asti, con ~~legen~~ legerezza spirito=alata
Il senato de~~ll~~ Tiranni. – caddero loro, proni
Schiavi d'un sol↑o↓ Tiranno. Palatino ~~singiozzo~~ ↑sospiro↓
Ecoe fiocce d‹i›ell‹'›a Ionia armonia. – quel tono
Tu indugia‹ndo›sti di ascoltare, lagrimando di rifiutarlo

[36] Shelley turned the page after this line and mistakenly wrote the stanza number "8" on top of the next, but then cancelled it.

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‹9›8

Da qual Ircana valle, o ~~gelato~~ ↑ghiacciato↓ monte
O pin‹e›ifero promontorio dell'~~Art‹eo›oso~~ ↑Artic↓ mare ↑onde↓
O ultima isola inaccess‹a›ibile
Lamenta‹i›sti tu la desolazione del tuo regno,
Insegnando ↑al↓le selve e ↑al↓le'onde, ed i ↑ai↓ solinghi sassi
↑E↓ ‹E›Ad ogni Naiade di gelata urna
Di parlare in echoe triste e severe
Di quel sublime dottrina che ↑l'↓uomo aveva ardito di dis‹a›imparare.
Perche tu ne vegliasti gli armenti incantati
Degli sogni dello Scalda, e ↑ne↓ inspira‹rai›sti il sonno del Druido.
Che, se le lagrimi~~te~~ piovute per tuoi capelli diradati
Tosto fossino asciugate? – Tu gem‹iv›esti, non lagr~~ivama~~↑amaj↓
Quando, dal suo mare morto ~~di~~ ↑~~per~~↓ ↑di↓ amazza‹re›ndo ↑e↓ bruciando
Il serpe Galileo arrampicava fuori
E faceva ~~vostro~~ tuo mondo ~~una massa~~ ↑mucchio↓ senza forma.

9

Per mille anni la Terra gridava. Tu Dove sei?
E allora l'ombra del tuo venire cadde
Sul fronte coronata di olivo del Sassone Alfredo;
E mille ~~roccie~~ ↑cadadelle↓ populati da guerrieri,

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Come rupi che fuoco ~~inazza~~ ↑inalza↓ dal mare ~~piatto~~ ↑livellato↓
Surgevano in Italia sacra,
Accigliando sopra il tempestoso mare
Dei rè e preti e schiavi, in maestà turrita.
Que‹st›lla anarchia moltitudinosa, ondeggiava intorno
E fu~~r~~ rotta alle loro mura, come spuma vana. –
Intanto dal piu ~~cupo~~ profondo abisso dell'umana mente
Strana melodia faceva ~~mut‹i›e~~ ↑silenti↓ con amore e con ~~terrore~~ ↑~~awe~~↓ ↑sacro horrore↓
Dissonant‹i›e arme, – ed Arte, che non può morire,
Con divina virga tracciava sulla nostra terra
Forme e colore addatt‹u›ato per il suolo del Celeste Tempio.

10

Tu Cacciatrice piu rapida della Luna! Tu, Terrore
De‹gli›i lupi del mondo. Tu Portatrice della faretra
L‹a›e di cui solare saette feriscono Errore turbine-alato
Come luce ferisce ‹i›le nuvole quando sono rott‹i›e
Nelle serene region‹e›i del'~~oriente~~ ↑nascente↓ giorno. –
Lutero ~~vid‹e›de~~ ↑raccolse↓ tuo sve‹l›gliante sguardo. –
A gui‹d›sa di baleno, dalla sua lancia di piombo
Reflett‹a›uta, ruppe le visioni d‹i›el ~~questo~~ sonno
Nel quale, come in sep‹u›olcho, giacevano le gente.

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I profeti d'Inghilterra ti salutarono come imperatrice loro
Ne‹l›i cant‹o›i, l'armonia de‹l›i qual‹e›i non può ~~passare~~ ↑dileguarsi↓,
Quantunque scorra in eterno, non inveduta
Davanti alla faccia ~~spiri~~ ↑~~insti~~↓ ↑orba↓, spirito-instinta [37] di Milton
Passa‹vai›sti tu, ~~da questa~~ ↑dolorosa,↓ d‹i›a quella scena trista
Al di la delle t‹r›enebre di cui, egli vidde.

11

Le ardente ore, e gli anni ~~esultanti~~ ↑inreluttanti,↓
Stavano quasi sopra un~~a~~ monte ↑da↓ Aurora-illuminato
Calcando a silenzio loro strepitose speranze ‹o›e timori,
Ob~~s~~curandose una al a‹tr›ltra, ~~colla~~ con la multitudine sua.
E gridavano – Libertà. – Indignazione
Respondeva a Pietà dall~~a sua spelon~~ ↑suo abisso –↓
La ‹m›Morte s'impallidi dentro ↑al↓la tomba
E Desolazione ~~gr~~ urlava al Desolatore – Salvat~~i~~;
Quando Tu, come il Sole del Cielo cinto dal↑lo↓ vapore
Della sua gloriosa luce, ~~tu~~ ti inalza‹i›sti,
Cacciando i tuoi nemici da nazione al nazione

[37] See note 13 to No. 4 above.

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Come ombre; ~~siccome~~ ↑~~quasi~~↓ il di avesse spezzato i↑l↓ ~~nubi~~ ↑cielo↓
A sonnochiosa mezzanotte sopra l'Hesperie onde
Uomini si levarono, v‹i›acillando con liet‹o›a ~~attonito~~ ↑sorpresa↓
Sotto ~~le~~ i baleni d‹i›ei tuoi ~~inusati~~ ↑inusitati↓ occhi.

12

O Tu, Cielo della terra, ~~che~~ ↑quali↓ ~~po~~ ↑incanti↓ allora pote~~ssero~~ ↑rono↓ ~~vesti~~ ↑coprirti↓
Con eclipsi portentosa – mille anni
~~Nutriti~~ ↑Pasciuti↓ fra il loto della cupa spelonca d'oppressione
Macchiavano tutto tuo liquido lume col sangue e la~~n~~grime
Finchè tue dolce stelle potessero ~~piangere~~ ↑cancellarla↓ col pianto.
Intorno ↑alla↓ Francia, la vendemmia orrenda,
Come, a guisa d‹i›ei Bacchanali, ballavano
I corononati schiavi della Destru‹ct›zione, [38] ‹ed›e la mitrata ~~pro~~ ~~schiera~~ ↑schiera↓ della Follia
Quando uno simile a loro, ma molto piu possente
L'Anarca ~~d‹i›ei tuo~~↑i↓ ↑delle tue↓ smarrit‹i›e schiere
~~Surgeva~~ – ↑~~Sorse~~↓ ↑Sorse.↓ eserciti erano mischiati con eserciti in oscura zuffa
Come nuvole con nuvole, ~~osb~~ obscurando le sacre cupole
Del sereno cielo. ↑ora,↓ Egli ~~adesso~~, ~~perseguit~~ ↑vinto↓ dal passato

[38] An archaic literary variant of *distruzione* (*DLI*, s.v.).

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Ripsosa con que‹ll›ste morte ma non mai obliate ore
I spettr‹e›i delle quale ~~territano~~ ↑atterriscono↓ i re dentro alle torre ~~ancestrali~~ avite.

Inghilterra dorme ancora, quantunque ↑gl↓i anni hanno chiamat‹i›a.
Spagna ora la chiama, come, con penetrante tuono
Vesuvio svegli~~asse~~ Ætna, ed i freddi
Scogli di neve, sono spezzati colla risposta;
Ed ogni isola Æolia a traverso dell'accese onde
Da Inarime a Peloro, in coro
Urlà, saltà balenò –
Gridando – Si‹e›ate fiocce, lampadi di cielo sospesi sopra di noi.
↑I↓ Suoi ceppi son di fil d'oro – basta che sorride
E ~~cadano~~, ↑si disciolgano,↓ ma quelli di Spagna erano ↑di↓ pesante acciajo
Finchè ~~fossero~~ ↑furono↓ morsi a polvere ‹co›dalla lima ~~acu~~ durissima di virtù~~te~~
Gemelli d'un solo destino! apellate
Agli eterni anni <u>intronati</u> davanti di noi
Nel Occaso oscuro. – ~~im~~ sigillate la,
Tutto ↑ciò↓ che voi avete pensato e fatto. – Il Tempo non celerà lo

Cessa, e l spirito di quel possente suono
Al abisso era subitamente raccolto – [39]

[39] The rest of the draft is in pencil, but with additions and corrections in ink.

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E come un cigno, che quando ~~batte l'ale~~ ↑maestevolmente vola↓
‹?Fuo›Sulla semita sua, a traverso le nebbie fulminee
‹S›E precipitato fra l'aurea luce dell aere rotto,
Al piano, co‹l›n suono pesante
Quando il fulmine ha penetrato il ↑suo↓ cerebro,
Come ~~vapori~~ ↑nuvole↓ di stat‹o›e ↑che↓ si scolgono disgravate da↑~~lla~~↓ loro pioggia
Come un distante lucerna che ~~muoia~~ ↑muoia↓, quando la notte moia
Come un breve insetto m‹o›uoia quando il ~~giorno muoia~~ ↑di mori↓
Cosi mio canto, suoi vanni ~~divestiti~~ ↑spogliati↓ di ~~possanza~~ ↑possanza↓,
Cad‹e›è – i ~~remoti~~ ↑lontani↓ eco della possente armonia
~~Que~~ ↑Che↓ sosten‹e›iva ↑il↓ su‹a›o vol‹a›o, ↑s‹e›i↓ chiudevano sopra sua caduta
Come flutti, che erano il pavimento delle ~~sue ac~~ acquee orme d'un ~~annegato~~ ↑naufragato↓
Fischiano ‹s›intorno suo capo ~~s~~morto in tempestoso gioco.

Text: Bodleian MS. Shelley adds. c. 4, fols. 89^{r-v}, 85^{r}-86^{v}, 90^{r-v}, 87^{r-v}, 88^{r}.
Published: Palacio 1975, 225-231 (conflation of draft and fair copy); *BSM*, XXI, 38-51 (facsimile and transcription of MS.); *PS*, IV, 99-107 (conflation of draft and fair copy); P.B. Shelley 2018a, 1183-1190 (conflation of draft and fair copy).

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II (Fair Copy)

Ode a↑lla↓ Libertà [40]

Un popolo glorioso vibrava ~~ancora~~ ↑di nuovo↓
Il fulmine delle nazioni. Libertà
Da core a core, da torre a torre, ~~per~~ ↑a traverso la↓ Spagna
Spargendo per l'aere contagiosa luce,
Balenò – Mia anima spezzava i ceppi del suo timore,
E si vesti esultante e fiera
Colle piume rapide di armonia
Battendo l'ale in canto sopra l'usata preda,
Come una aquila se ruota fra le mattutine nuvole.
Finchè dal suo posto nel cielo della fama
Il turbine dello Spirito lo rapiva, ed i raggi
Della piu remota sfera di vivente flamma
Che strisciavano il vano, erano spinti dietro a lei
Come spuma d'una rapida prora – quando venne
Una voce dal profondo – Io la canterò.

[40] The text is written on a singleton, but ink offsets on the verso side and page numberings pencilled in the top right margin of both sides of the leaf suggest the fair copy may have continued on now missing leaves. Stanza numbers are omitted except for the third stanza.

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Il Sole e la serena ‹l›Luna sorsero dal nulla
Le ardente stelle dell'abisso erano rotate
A traverso le caverne del cielo. La dedalea Terra,
Que‹ll›sta isola nell'Oceano del mondo
Tremolava sospesa in suo manto dell'aria che sostiene tutto:
Ma questo divino Universo,
E‹a›ra ancora caos e nulla
Perche Tu non eri – Ma il Potere dal male producendo peggio
Accendeva colà lo spirito degli animale terrene
E degli aerii uccelli, e delle marine forme;
E la guerra era fra di loro, e la disperazione
Dentro di loro, infuriando senza tregua e senza legge.
Il seno della di loro violata madre
Gemì – perche la belva faceva ‹bel›guerra alla belva, il verme al verme,
E l Uomo al uomo – ogni cuore era un Inferno di tempeste.

3

L'uomo, l Imperiale forma, multiplicava allora
Le sue generazione sotto al padiglione
Dello trono del Sol. Palazzi e piramid‹e›i
Tempii e prigion‹e›i a sue infinite schiame

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Text: Bodleian MS. Shelley adds. c. 4, fol. 84[r-v].
Published: Rogers 1956, 343 (first stanza only); Palacio 1975, 225-226; *BSM*, XXI, 36-39 (facsimile and transcription of MS.); *PS*, IV, 99-100; P.B. Shelley 2018a, 1183-1184.

ODE TO LIBERTY.

Yet, Freedom, yet thy banner torn but flying,
Streams like a thunder-storm against the wind.
BYRON.

I.

A glorious people vibrated again
The lightning of the nations: Liberty
From heart to heart, from tower to tower, o'er Spain,
Scattering contagious fire into the sky,
Gleamed. My soul spurned the chains of its dismay,
And, in the rapid plumes of song,
Clothed itself, sublime and strong;
As a young eagle soars the morning clouds among,
Hovering in verse o'er its accustomed prey;
Till from its station in the heaven of fame
The Spirit's whirlwind rapt it, and the ray

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Of the remotest sphere of living flame
Which paves the void was from behind it flung,
As foam from a ship's swiftness, when there came
A voice out of the deep: I will record the same.

II.

The Sun and the serenest Moon sprang forth:
The burning stars of the abyss were hurled
Into the depths of heaven. The dædal earth,
That island in the ocean of the world,
Hung in its cloud of all-sustaining air:
But this divinest universe
Was yet a chaos and a curse,
For thou wert not: but power from worst producing worse,
The spirit of the beasts was kindled there,
And of the birds, and of the watery forms,
And there was war among them, and despair
Within them, raging without truce or terms:
The bosom of their violated nurse
Groan'd, for beasts warr'd on beasts, and worms on worms,
And men on men; each heart was as a hell of storms.

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III.

Man, the imperial shape, then multiplied
His generations under the pavilion
Of the Sun's throne: palace and pyramid,
Temple and prison, to many a swarming million,
Were, as to mountain-wolves their ragged caves.
This human living multitude
Was savage, cunning, blind, and rude,
For thou wert not; but o'er the populous solitude,
Like one fierce cloud over a waste of waves
Hung tyranny; beneath, sate deified
The sister-pest, congregator of slaves
Into the shadow of her pinions wide;
Anarchs and priests who feed on gold and blood,
Till with the stain their inmost souls are dyed,
Drove the astonished herds of men from every side.

IV.

The nodding promontories, and blue isles,
And cloud-like mountains, and dividuous waves
Of Greece, basked glorious in the open smiles

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Of favouring heaven: from their enchanted caves
Prophetic echoes flung dim melody.
On the unapprehensive wild
The vine, the corn, the olive mild,
Grew savage yet, to human use unreconciled;
And, like unfolded flowers beneath the sea,
Like the man's thought dark in the infant's brain,
Like aught that is which wraps what is to be,
Art's deathless dreams lay veiled by many a vein
Of Parian stone; and yet a speechless child,
Verse murmured, and Philosophy did strain
Her lidless eyes for thee; when o'er the Ægean main

V.

Athens arose: a city such as vision
Builds from the purple crags and silver towers
Of battlemented cloud, as in derision
Of kingliest masonry: the ocean-floors
Pave it; the evening sky pavilions it;
Its portals are inhabited
By thunder-zoned winds, each head
Within its cloudy wings with sunfire garlanded,

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A divine work! Athens diviner yet
Gleamed with its crest of columns, on the will
Of man, as on a mount of diamond, set;
For thou wert, and thine all-creative skill
Peopled with forms that mock the eternal dead
In marble immortality, that hill
Which was thine earliest throne and latest oracle.

VI.

Within the surface of Time's fleeting river
Its wrinkled image lies, as then it lay
Immoveably unquiet, and for ever
It trembles, but it cannot pass away!
The voices of thy bards and sages thunder
With an earth-awakening blast
Through the caverns of the past;
Religion veils her eyes; Oppression shrinks aghast:
A winged sound of joy, and love, and wonder,
Which soars where Expectation never flew,
Rending the veil of space and time asunder!
One ocean feeds the clouds, and streams, and dew;
One sun illumines heaven; one spirit vast

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With life and love makes chaos ever new,
As Athens doth the world with thy delight renew.

VII.

Then Rome was, and from thy deep bosom fairest,
Like a wolf-cub from a Cadmæan Maenad,*
She drew the milk of greatness, though thy dearest
From that Elysian food was yet unweaned;
And many a deed of terrible uprightness
By thy sweet love was sanctified;
And in thy smile, and by thy side,
Saintly Camillus lived, and firm Atilius died.
But when tears stained thy robe of vestal whiteness,
And gold prophaned thy capitolian throne,
Thou didst desert, with spirit-winged lightness,
The senate of the tyrants: they sunk prone
Slaves of one tyrant: Palatinus sighed
Faint echoes of Ionian song; that tone
Thou didst delay to hear, lamenting to disown.

* See the Bacchæ of Euripides.

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VIII.

From what Hyrcanian glen or frozen hill,
Or piny promontory of the Arctic main,
Or utmost islet inaccessible,
Didst thou lament the ruin of thy reign,
Teaching the woods and waves, and desart rocks,
And every Naiad's ice-cold urn,
To talk in echoes sad and stern,
Of that sublimest love which man had dared unlearn?
For neither didst thou watch the wizard flocks
Of the Scald's dreams, nor haunt the Druid's sleep.
What if the tears rained through thy shattered locks
Were quickly dried? for thou didst groan, not weep,
When from its sea of death to kill and burn,
The Galilean serpent forth did creep,
And made thy world an undistinguishable heap.

IX.

A thousand years the Earth cried, Where art thou?
And then the shadow of thy coming fell
On Saxon Alfred's olive-cinctured brow:
And many a warrior-peopled citadel,

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Like rocks which fire lifts out of the flat deep,
Arose in sacred Italy,
Frowning o'er the tempestuous sea
Of kings, and priests, and slaves, in tower-crowned majesty;
That multitudinous anarchy did sweep,
And burst around their walls, like idle foam,
Whilst from the human spirit's deepest deep
Strange melody with love and awe struck dumb
Dissonant arms; and Art, which cannot die,
With divine wand traced on our earthly home
Fit imagery to pave heaven's everlasting dome.

X.

Thou huntress swifter than the Moon! thou terror
Of the world's wolves! thou bearer of the quiver,
Whose sunlike shafts pierce tempest-winged Error,
As light may pierce the clouds when they dissever
In the calm regions of the orient day!
Luther caught thy wakening glance,
Like lightning, from his leaden lance
Reflected, it dissolved the visions of the trance
In which, as in a tomb, the nations lay;

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And England's prophets hailed thee as their queen,
In songs whose music cannot pass away,
Though it must flow for ever: not unseen
Before the spirit-sighted countenance
Of Milton didst thou pass, from the sad scene
Beyond whose night he saw, with a dejected mien.

XI.

The eager hours and unreluctant years
As on a dawn-illumined mountain stood,
Trampling to silence their loud hopes and fears,
Darkening each other with their multitude,
And cried aloud, Liberty! Indignation
Answered Pity from her cave;
Death grew pale within the grave,
And Desolation howled to the destroyer, Save!
When like heaven's sun girt by the exhalation
Of its own glorious light, thou didst arise,
Chasing thy foes from nation unto nation
Like shadows: as if day had cloven the skies
At dreaming midnight o'er the western wave,

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Men started, staggering with a glad surprise,
Under the lightnings of thine unfamiliar eyes.

XII.

Thou heaven of earth! what spells could pall thee then,
In ominous eclipse? a thousand years
Bred from the slime of deep oppression's den,
Dyed all thy liquid light with blood and tears,
Till thy sweet stars could weep the stain away;
How like Bacchanals of blood
Round France, the ghastly vintage, stood
Destruction's sceptred slaves, and Folly's mitred brood!
When one, like them, but mightier far than they,
The Anarch of thine own bewildered powers
Rose: armies mingled in obscure array,
Like clouds with clouds, darkening the sacred bowers
Of serene heaven. He, by the past pursued,
Rests with those dead, but unforgotten hours,
Whose ghosts scare victor kings in their ancestral towers.

XIII.

England yet sleeps: was she not called of old?
Spain calls her now, as with its thrilling thunder

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Vesuvius wakens Ætna, and the cold
Snow-crags by its reply are cloven in sunder:
O'er the lit waves every Æolian isle
From Pithecusa to Pelorus
Howls, and leaps, and glares in chorus:
They cry, Be dim; ye lamps of heaven suspended o'er us.
Her chains are threads of gold, she need but smile
And they dissolve; but Spain's were links of steel,
Till bit to dust by virtue's keenest file.
Twins of a single destiny! appeal
To the eternal years enthroned before us,
In the dim West; impress us from a seal,
All ye have thought and done! Time cannot dare conceal.

XIV.

Tomb of Arminius! render up thy dead,
Till, like a standard from a watch-tower's staff,
His soul may stream over the tyrant's head;
Thy victory shall be his epitaph,
Wild Bacchanal of truth's mysterious wine,
King-deluded Germany,
His dead spirit lives in thee.

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Why do we fear or hope? thou art already free!
And thou, lost Paradise of this divine
And glorious world! thou flowery wilderness!
Thou island of eternity! thou shrine
Where desolation clothed with loveliness,
Worships the thing thou wert! O Italy,
Gather thy blood into thy heart; repress
The beasts who make their dens thy sacred palaces.

XV.

O, that the free would stamp the impious name
Of **** into the dust! or write it there,
So that this blot upon the page of fame
Were as a serpent's path, which the light air
Erases, and the flat sands close behind!
Ye the oracle have heard:
Lift the victory-flashing sword,
And cut the snaky knots of this foul gordian word,
Which weak itself as stubble, yet can bind
Into a mass, irrefragably firm,
The axes and the rods which awe mankind;
The sound has poison in it, 'tis the sperm

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Of what makes life foul, cankerous, and abhorred;
Disdain not thou, at thine appointed term,
To set thine armed heel on this reluctant worm.

XVI.

O, that the wise from their bright minds would kindle
Such lamps within the dome of this dim world,
That the pale name of PRIEST might shrink and dwindle
Into the hell from which it first was hurled,
A scoff of impious pride from fiends impure;
Till human thoughts might kneel alone
Each before the judgement-throne
Of its own aweless soul, or of the power unknown!
O, that the words which make the thoughts obscure
From which they spring, as clouds of glimmering dew
From a white lake blot heaven's blue portraiture,
Were stript of their thin masks and various hue
And frowns and smiles and splendours not their own,
Till in the nakedness of false and true
They stand before their Lord, each to receive its due.

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XVII.

He who taught man to vanquish whatsoever
Can be between the cradle and the grave
Crowned him the King of Life. O vain endeavour!
If on his own high will a willing slave,
He has enthroned the oppression and the oppressor.
What if earth can clothe and feed
Amplest millions at their need,
And power in thought be as the tree within the seed?
O, what if Art, an ardent intercessor,
Driving on fiery wings to Nature's throne,
Checks the great mother stooping to caress her,
And cries: Give me, thy child, dominion
Over all height and depth? if Life can breed
New wants, and wealth from those who toil and groan
Rend of thy gifts and hers a thousand fold for one.

XVIII.

Come Thou, but lead out of the inmost cave
Of man's deep spirit, as the morning-star
Beckons the Sun from the Eoan wave,
Wisdom. I hear the pennons of her car

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Self-moving, like cloud charioted by flame;
Comes she not, and come ye not,
Rulers of eternal thought,
To judge, with solemn truth, life's ill-apportioned lot?
Blind Love, and equal Justice, and the Fame
Of what has been, the Hope of what will be?
O, Liberty! if such could be thy name
Wert thou disjoined from these, or they from thee:
If thine or theirs were treasures to be bought
By blood or tears, have not the wise and free
Wept tears, and blood like tears? The solemn harmony

XIX.

Paused, and the spirit of that mighty singing
To its abyss was suddenly withdrawn;
Then, as a wild swan, when sublimely winging
Its path athwart the thunder-smoke of dawn,
Sinks headlong through the aerial golden light
On the heavy sounding plain,
When the bolt has pierced its brain;
As summer clouds dissolve, unburthened of their rain;
As a far taper fades with fading night,

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As a brief insect dies with dying day,
My song, its pinions disarrayed of might,
Drooped; o'er it closed the echoes far away
Of the great voice which did its flight sustain,
As waves which lately paved his watery way
Hiss round a drowner's head in their tempestuous play.

("Ode to Liberty", in P.B. Shelley 1820, 207-222)

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13
"Buona Notte"

I (Draft)

Buona Notte – Buona Notte! come mai [41]
La notte ~~può~~ sarà buona senza te?
Non dimmi buona notte – che tu sai
La notte puo star buona da per se. –

~~Quella notte~~
Mala, scura, sola, cupa, senza speme,
~~E la notte che si dice buona notte~~ –
~~E la notte nella~~
La notte quando Lilla m'abandona. –
Pe‹r›i cuori che si batton insieme
Ogni notte, senza dirlo, sarà buona. –

[41] The lines are written parallel to the spine holding the notebook sideways. The neatness of the first stanza suggests it may be a transcription from a now unlocated early draft rather than a first draft. Beneath it is a very rough draft, mostly cancelled, of the second stanza (not reproduced here), a complete version of which is drafted on the next page. At this point the composition breaks off, but an ink offset of the words "Buona notte buona nott" on the second page indicates that a now missing leaf after it contained either more draft material or a fair-copy transcript of the poem.

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Text: Bodleian MS. Shelley adds. e. 17, pp. 23-24.
Published: Medwin 1834, 277; Medwin 1913, 351-352; P.B. Shelley 1870, II, 539-540; P.B. Shelley 1878, 390; P.B. Shelley 1904, 698; *J*, IV, 67-68; *BSM*, XII, 54-57 (facsimile and transcription of MS.); P.B. Shelley 2018a, 1191.

Good Night – Good Night! how will
The night ever be good without you?
Do not say good night to me – for you know
The night can be good by itself. –

Ill, dark, lonely, gloomy, without hope,
The night when Lilla abandons me. –
To the hearts that beat together
Every night, without saying it, will be good. –

II (Pforzheimer Fair Copy)

Buona Notte. [42]

Buona Notte! Buona Notte? come mai
La notte sia buona senza te?

[42] The poem is written sideways in a minute hand in the blank space on top of the first page of Shelley's letter to Leigh Hunt of 26 August 1821, to the right of the date and salutation. Only this version has a title.

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Non dimmi buona notte; che tu sai,
La notte sa star buona da per se.

Mala notte, sola notte, senza speme,
E quella quando Lilla m'abbandona;
I cuori che si batton' insieme,
Fanno sempre, senza dir, la notte buona

Quanto male buona notte ci suona
Con sospiri e parole interrotte! –
Il modo di aver la notte buona
E mai non di dir la buona notte

Text: Pforzheimer MS. PBS 0074, p. 1.
Published: P.B. Shelley 1894, 31-32; P.B. Shelley 1909, 910; *J*, X, 320; *PBSL*, II, 346; *PS*, IV, 95-96; P.B. Shelley 2018a, 1541-1542.

Good Night.

Good Night! Good Night? how can
The night ever be good without you?
Do not say good night to me; for you know,
The night can be good by itself.

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Ill night, lonely night, without hope,
Is the one when Lilla abandons me;
The hearts that beat together,
Always make, without saying, the night good

How ill good night sounds to us
With sighs and broken words! –
The way to have the night good
Is never to say good night

III (Bodleian Fair Copy)

Buona notte, buona notte. come mai
La notte sara buona senza te. –
Non dirmi buona notte, che tu sai
La notte sa star buona da per s‹a›e

Quanto male buona notte si suona,
Con sospiri e parole interotte. –
Il modo di aver la notte buona –
È, – mai non d‹a›i dir' la buona notte

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Text: Bodleian MS. Shelley adds. c. 4, fol. 102[r].
Published: *BSM*, XXI, 64-65 (facsimile and transcription of MS.); *PS*, IV, 94.

Good night, good night. how will
The night ever be good without you. –
Do not say good night to me, for you know
The night can be good by itself

How ill good night sounds to us,
With sighs and broken words. –
The way to have the night good –
Is, – never to say good night

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14
Verse fragments in *terza rima*

A

Cosi la Poesia, incarnata diva
Nelle spoglie antiche di penello mortale
Come snella barca [ ] ad altra riva

Da Rafaelle a te pervenne tale
Che fu grande [ ]
Ed in tuo sorriso [ ] le ale

E la tua mano la feci possente
Di alzarsi al terzo sfera [43]

Text: Bodleian MS. Shelley adds. d. 7, p. 45 (Mary Shelley's transcript).
Published: *BSM*, II, 92-93 (facsimile and transcription of MS.); *PS*, IV, 199-200; P.B. Shelley 2018a, 1192.

[43] There are no indentations and stanza breaks in the transcript; however, since the fragment appears to be in *terza rima*, I have laid it out in tercets with alternately indented lines.

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Thus Poetry, an incarnate goddess
In the antique guise of a mortal paintbrush
Like a swift boat [ ] to another shore

Came to you from Raphael such
As was great [ ]
And in your smile [ ] the wings

And your hand gave it the power
To rise to the third sphere

B

Fol. 24r

~~Perche~~ ↑Sopra↓ la fronte ~~di~~ ↑[?]↓ ~~genio~~ ↑poss‹ent›anza↓ istinta [44]
‹L›Gli ↑Dentro gli↓ ~~cupi~~ [~~?~~] ↑~~occhi forti~~↓ ↑~~buoni occhi~~, ~~co di velato~~ ↑~~coperto~~↓ ~~lampo~~↓
~~‹G›Le labbre, socchiuse,~~
Dentro gli occhi; ~~sulle~~ labbr‹i›a, ~~donde~~ ↑~~dalle~~↓

Dal spiro della tua mente, ~~e~~ ↑~~son~~↓ istint‹a›‹e›a
‹Il›La chiara fronte; l‹e›a labbr‹e›a amoros‹e›a

[44] The physical appearance and conditions of the holograph are discussed in Chapter 5.1. For the calque "istinta" see note 13 to No. 4 above.

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~~Gli occhi~~ [ ], ~~in spento lampo d~~
La guancia dal cadente sole tinta. –

Gli occhi, ove spento lampo posa [45]
Sono imagini dei tuoi; ‹e›in tutto, ~~sono~~ ↑iete↓
Quella l'odore – tu la stessa rosa;
~~Questa~~ La ombra al sostanza, ~~la Luna al Sole.~~ ↑– l'acqua al sete. –↓

~~Piangero, per t‹e›ua~~
~~La tua venuta queto~~ [ ] ~~aspettando~~
~~Preparero~~ ~~Il~~
~~Ti~~ ↑~~Ti~~↓ ~~preced‹a›o – la vita va mancando –~~
~~‹E›Non pianger ch'‹io›l'anima mia va davanti~~
‹L›Di
Oh non pianger – ch'io ti ~~prepar‹a›o~~ ↑~~crea~~↓

Fol. 24v

Ah non pianger – no – ~~qui non pos~~ ↑~~potrei~~ [~~?~~] ↓ ↑~~quaggiù non posso –~~↓ ↑perche ~~qu~~↓
In

[45] Before this line Shelley wrote, cancelled, and retraced the number "6", possibly to signal the beginning of a new section in the draft composition.

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Ah non pianger no ‹q›che ~~qui non posso~~ ↑~~un mondo~~↓
La ~~creero~~ ↑ti prepar‹o›ero, ~~aspend~~ un↓ ↑~~creando~~↓
Oh non pianger, no – la
Che s‹ebe›arebbe [?Paradediso] ↑~~Paradiso~~↓ ~~quando~~
~~Che parole o pensieri~~
Tu ~~vieni~~
Oh no non pianger –
Ah ~~non~~ ↑[?non]↓ ~~piangerò – si vado avanti~~ ↑~~che~~ qui non posso↓
~~Par~~ [?] [?] [?]
La↑~~La~~↓, ~~ti accolgar~~ ↑~~La sp~~↓
Come ↑onda↓ refluente si posa~~ndosi~~ al suo ~~mare~~ ↑mare↓
Ed io, che nei celeste
Che morte sol‹a›o e il morte sente.

Fol. 25^{r}

~~Come onda refluente, al suo mare~~
~~R Refluente~~
~~E ti, preparo~~
~~Te ti creo nel mondo~~

~~Ma se possa concederti~~ ↑bring↓
Dal ~~dura~~ ~~prigione~~ ↑~~cupa~~↓ ↑~~carcer~~↓ ↑~~mare~~↓ ↑carcere↓ ↑cupo speco↓ ~~dei memorie n~~ ↑della passata↓

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Del ~~pentimento, del~~ ↑vano pentimento, e ~~nero afanno~~↓ ↑vana ~~pasione~~↓
D'~~al~~ Dal alta speme mai non compit

Da‹lla›‹lle›i fantasmi ~~di memoria~~ ↑che dal memoria vanno↓
Inasperando~~mi la pace del presente~~ ↑i sogni ~~del dormente~~ ora↓ ↑delle del presente,↓
E dalle ombre che il futuro anno

Gett‹ò›a davanti; ~~di~~ ↑~~i suoi~~↓ ~~dalla morte~~ ↑~~al [?veni]~~ [~~?~~] veniente;↓
Dalla morte stessa, moriendo; ~~io fuggo~~ ↑~~Amore~~↓ ↑io fuggo↓;
~~Mi [?traveste]~~ di mortalita e sola
~~Amore mi viene~~ ↑~~mi viene~~↓ ~~morte [?]~~
~~Che morte~~
[?~~So~~] ~~Ma [?] morte di morte~~ ↑~~morte di morte~~↓ ↑Amore mi↓ e sente. –

Fol. 25v

Oh non pianger! ~~se avanti vado,~~ ↑~~ch'io vado and~~↓ ↑io pianger devo.↓

~~Gli suoi flutti~~
Il reflusso della sua onda mi ~~ne~~ mena
Dove io ~~fabric~~ ti fabricarei ↑preparerotti↓, asteptando,
Un queto ~~albergo~~ ↑asilo,↓ lontan di ogni pena

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Oh non pianger! ~~no – ch'io ti preparo~~ ↑ch'io ~~il~~↓ ↑~~ch'un qualche [?] queto~~↓
~~Un queto asilo, albergo,~~ ~~[?nel] mondo superno~~ ↑nelle isole [?~~empere~~]↓
~~Con pensieri e sensazioni~~
~~Isola di eternità~~,
~~Ti preparo~~
~~Ti as~~
~~Fabricarei un Paradiso~~
~~Ti creero un mondo, aspettando~~
L
Sciegliero un'isola nel ~~purpureo cielo~~ ↑Oceano↓ ↑~~eterno~~↓ ↑superno↓
‹A›Un queto asilo, ~~che sarebbe, quando~~

Fol. 26r

~~‹L›Come onda refluente al suo mare~~
~~Ed io~~ con ~~[?] [?] di~~ ↑~~dalla amore morte, e dal amore [?]~~↓
~~Fabricarei per te~~ ↑~~e solo aspettando~~↓
Come onda [?~~refluente~~] ↑mi affretto, aspettando↓
~~La tua venuta, nelle isole eterne~~ ↑isole superne↓
Non pianger no~~…che la~~ ↑~~che e stato~~↓ ↑il ~~suo~~ reflusso ~~mi porta~~↓ ↑[?~~mena~~]↓ ↑~~la il refluente flutto~~↓
Mi ~~porta a quel porto~~, ↑~~rapisce la,~~↓ ~~dove~~ ↑~~io ti~~↓ ~~as aspettero,~~
~~Alle isole s~~

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Non pianger! ~~no! che~~ / ↑che io ti aspettando↓
~~In quelle eterne~~
Ti ~~[?crero] un queto~~ ↑~~asilo queto e riposo~~↓
Scegliero [?] [?] [?]
~~Preparero in~~ ↑~~tra~~↓ ~~quelle isole superne~~ ↑~~nel purpureo vuoto~~↓
Un queto asilo – ~~che~~ ↑in↓
[?~~Tirsi~~] filo

Fol. 26v

Non ~~‹m›ci~~ ↑mi↓ fu conceduto qui, ~~la pace…~~ ↑~~il farlo~~↓ ↑~~aggi~~↓ ↑~~seguire~~↓ ↑del darti↓
~~Però la terra~~
~~Pero, portremo, avere qui~~
~~La rapida Poesia~~,

~~Non si fu conceduti qui~~ ~~altrimenti~~ ↑~~dato d'aggiungere il volo~~↓
Non ~~ci~~ ↑~~mi~~↓ ↑ti↓ fu, ~~conceduto, altrimenti~~ ↑~~d'essere una~~↓ ↑~~d'esser mia;~~↓
~~Non cercerei al~~
~~Il Par cielo~~
~~A me, essendo~~
Non ci fu conceduto ~~qui, di fare~~ ↑~~perche~~↓ ↑qui ~~pero~~ che↓ ↑~~perchè~~ mai↓ ↑~~pero~~↓ ↑~~altrimenti~~↓ ↑pero ~~mai quando~~↓
↑mai ~~come~~↓

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~~Un cielo dall'~~
~~Avremo mai al di la del'~~
~~Non mai avremo al di la di morte~~
~~[?Co] Avremo allora~~
Avrei cercato ~~al di la di morte~~ ↑~~vita~~↓ ↑oltre allo sepolcro↓
Un Paradiso, dove tu non stai:

Ma

Fol. 27r

~~Di~~
~~Cosi in barbari accenti~~
Così, vestiva in ~~barbari~~ accenti,
~~Il culto tener‹o›i cult‹o›i~~ ↑~~Il pianto~~↓ ↑~~Il pianto a~~↓ ↑~~Il culto~~↓ ↑Il vero affetto↓ a un ~~Ausonio~~ ↑[?~~petto,~~]↓
↑[?cuore]↓

~~Tirsi~~ ~~Il vecchio Tirsi~~
Tirsi ~~chi~~ ~~che aveva~~ ↑il↓

Text: Bodleian MS. Shelley adds. e. 20, fols. 24r-27r; Bodleian MS. Shelley adds. e. 5, pp. 47-53 (photo-facsimile of MS.). Published: Ingpen 1917, 688-690 (transcription of MS. with facsimile of fol. 24r facing p. 688); *J*, IV, 89-92; *BSM*, VII, 90-91 (cleaned-up transcription); *BSM*, VII, 236-251 (facsimile and transcription of MS.); *PS*, IV, 197-198; P.B. Shelley 2018a, 1192-1193.

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Fol. 24r

With the spirit of your mind, instinct
The clear brow; the amorous lips
The cheek coloured by the setting sun. –

The eyes, where extinguished lightning rests
Are images of your own; in all, you are
She the fragrance – you the rose itself;
Shadow to substance – water to thirst. –

Fol. 25r

From the prison of the past
Of vain repentance, and black anxiety
From high hope never fulfilled

From the phantoms which move from memory
Embittering the dreams of the present,
And from the shadows that the future year

Approaching; casts ahead;
From death itself, dying; I flee;
Love hears me. –

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Fol. 25^{v}

The flow of its wave takes me
Where I, waiting, will prepare you
A quiet refuge, far from every pain

Fol. 26^{v}

It was not granted to us here but never
Would I have sought beyond the grave
A Paradise, where you do not dwell:

Fol. 27^{r}

Thus, Thyrsis clothed in {barbarian} accents,
His true affection for an {Ausonian}

B Appendix

Fol. 24^{r}, mirror image

Un
Le speranze ~~vanno~~

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Sopra
Da [?] dei tuoi [?] dirmi

[?]

Per
Son pieni, nelle [?immagini]

aperto e [?] di [?] sono

~~dall~~
[?~~as~~]

Text: Bodleian MS. Shelley adds. e. 20, fol. 24[r]; Bodleian MS. Shelley adds. e. 5, p. 47 (photo-facsimile of MS.).
Published: Ingpen 1917, page facing p. 688 (facsimile of MS.); *BSM*, VII, 236, 239 (facsimile of MS.)

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15
"Una Favola"

I (Draft)

C↑'↓era un certo giovane d'un paese lontano, chi viaggiava pel mondo di trovare una donna, ~~che mo~~ della quale e‹ll›sso fu innamorato dai verde ann‹o›i. – ↑finche ~~la cessò inopinamente di~~ fu [?]↓ E chi fu que‹st›la donna, e ~~perchè~~ ↑primo↓ come questo giovane s'innamorò di lei, e perchè gli cessà l'amore tanto forte, che aveva sono cose degne d esse conoscute da ogni gentil cuore. –

Al spuntare del↑la↓ [?~~nov~~] ~~anno~~ ↑~~di~~↓ ↑15sima↓ ↑~~quin~~decima quinta↓ primavera ↑della vita sua↓, ~~l'Amore~~ Uno ~~che se~~ chiama‹va›dosi Amore, apparì↑vo↓ a questo giovane, seguitato d'una grande schiera di ~~gente~~ ↑~~forme~~↓ ↑persone↓ tutte velate in veli bianchi e coronate ~~di mirto di lauro~~ ↑di↓ ~~g‹u›hirlande di~~ mirto e di lauro e ~~di mirto evve~~ ↑‹ed ede›e d'ellera↓ intrecciate di viole rose e fioridilisi. – E cantavano si dolcemente che↑,↓ ~~il cuore suo batteva violentememte~~, e ‹?fu›il viso fu [?rosso] [?] anco ↑~~chi non avrebbe udito~~↓ ↑diresti↓ ↑ch l'armonia delle sfere, al quale le stelle ballano, f‹u›orse fu meno dolce↓ – E l‹a›e ‹v›loro maniere ~~‹c›furono~~ ↑erano↓ cosi dillevevole ↑gentile↓ che questo giovane ~~fu~~ ↑era↓ allettato far fare il volere di quello che si chiamava Amore: e lo seguivata per soling‹u›e vie ~~montane~~ e selve e ~~caverne~~ ↑s caverne↓ finche ~~arriva~~ furono tutti arrivati ‹?in›ad ~~una spelonca bosco~~ ↑bosco↓ ~~solitaria chiusa intorno di si di sassi ad un giardino mon~~ fra due altissime montagne; ~~che~~ ↑il quale↓ fu ~~una~~ specie ↑piantato in guisa↓ di laberinto di ~~alberi~~ ↑e↓, pini cipressi, cedari e tassi, l‹a›e ~~di~~ ombr‹a›e de‹l›i qual‹e›i destava↑no↓ ~~al'~~ un misto di piacere e di orrore – E qui per un anno intero seguitava i passi d‹el›i amore ↑questo compagno e duce suo↓ come la luna segue la terra. E fu nutrito d'un erba ↑che fu↓ amara e dolce insieme, la frutta d'un certo albero che fu nel mezzo del laberinto, e essendo freddo come ghiaccio sulle labra, pareva foco nelle vene. – E queste forme velate svolazzavano intorno di lui, e furono i suoi ministri, e le correrere fra lui ed Amore

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↑~~perche s~~ ↑~~quando~~↓ ~~quello s~~ quando mai furono divisi↓ e ↑ma↓ non mai ~~si~~ volevano svelarsi, quantunque ~~molte volte~~ l‹a›e pregh‹?ava›asse ~~fortemente~~. ~~molto~~‹.›; ~~Passegiavano~~ ~~Fra questa schiera c'era Una, che a~~ eccetuat‹i›o Una che si chiamava Vita, ed aveva reputazione di incantratrice ↑gagliarda↓. Era ~~bella~~ grande di persona e bella, allegra, ~~di maniere~~ e sciolta, ↑ornata riccamente↓ e siccome pareva ~~amava questo giovane voleva tanto bene a questo giovane~~ dal suo svelarsi voleva bene a questo giovane; ma ben presto fu ~~conos~~ reconosciutata d'essere piu finta ~~di~~ ↑che↓ alcuna Sirena, poichè per consiglio suo, Amore gli abbandono in questo ~~solitario~~ ↑~~soliglero~~↓ ~~bosco~~; ↑selvaggio lo‹co›ugo,↓ e ~~gli lascia solo~~ tutte ‹l›gli due gli lasciavano solo con queste velate forme; e ↑nessuno↓ si quelle furono ~~i suoi~~ le ~~ombre~~ ↑i sprettri↓ ‹~~delle~~›dei suoi ~~proprii~~ ↑morti↓ pensieri o ~~di quelli~~ ↑le ombre dei vivi↓ del Amore nessuno puo schiarire.

~~Il momento che Vita ed Amore~~ ↑La↓ Vita in quel punto si celava ~~sotto~~ ~~una~~ la ↑‹d›nell‹e›'interiore parte d'una↓ spelonca d'una sua sorella abitandondo ~~qu~~ colà, ed Amore se ne torno sospirando alla ↑sua↓ terza ~~sua~~ sfera.

Appena fu partito Amore quando le ↑mascherate↓ forme ↑solute dalla sua legge,↓ tutte insieme si svelarono ‹s›e si presentarono ~~all~~' davanti al attonito giovane~~,~~. Il ↑di↓ ‹di›loro orribile aspetto, e trista figura ↑tanto↓ gli ingombrava il cuore di malinconia, e per ~~giorni~~ mo‹n›lti giorni pianse tanto, che le erbe del suo c‹o›ammino pasciute di lagrime in vece di rugiada diventavano come lui pallide e chinate. Le ↑sopradette↓ forme ballavano intorno di lui ~~notte e~~ ↑il↓ giorno, e gridavano ~~minacciavolmente~~ ↑in ~~terribili~~ ↑tremendi↓ accenti↓ ↑dovunque andasse, e ↑ora↓ mottegiavan‹o›dolo, ed or↓ minacciandolo, e quando riposavava, ~~facevano prec~~ filavano in ~~trista~~ ↑lenta e lunga↓ processione davanti d‹i›el [?~~lui~~] ↑suo letto↓, ognuna ‹br›piu ~~brutta~~ ↑schifosa↓ e ~~terrib~~ ~~tremenda~~ ↑terribile↓ che l'altra‹;›. – ~~finche~~ ~~Alfine~~ ↑Alfine↓ Stanco di questo ~~travaglio~~ malmenare andava alla caverna della Sorella della Vita, incantatrice anch~~e~~'ella, e la trovò ~~seda~~↑ndo↓ ↑seduta↓ davanti un ↑lento↓ fo↑uo↓co di cipresso ↑cantando ‹l›soavente dolorose↓ tessendo una bianca mortaia [46] ornata di molti ↑strani↓ gero-

[46] "Mortaja" (as is correctly spelled in the fair copy) is not an Italian but a Spanish word meaning "shroud" (the equivalent Italian term is *sindone*). The term occurs in a number of Calderón's plays, including *La devoción de la cruz*, which Shelley read in 1819 (Mensching - Rolshoven - Tietz 2015, 3482; *PBSL*, II, 105).

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glifici, e la prego di dirlo su‹a›o nome ed ella disse col voce ~~dolce ma~~ fiocca ma dolce "La Morte." – ~~Ed il giovane~~ ~~Suo viso fu tale, che il mond‹a›o~~ ‹e›disse – O ↑bella↓ Morte ti prego di ajutarmi, ~~e difedermi~~ ↑contro↓ di que‹ste›i noio‹e›se imagini ↑compagni della tua Sorella,↓ che mi tormentono tuttavia – E la Morte rideva ~~dolce~~ soavamente, e gli bacia la fronte, sicchè tremava ogni vena di gioia e paura e le f‹a›ece stare presso di lei, in una stanza della sua spelonc‹h›a, donde sperava che ↑piu↓ mai non uscirebbe ~~piu~~ ↑fori↓. ~~Per~~chè si innamorò si fortemente della Morte, che ↑La↓ Vita, o ↑stessa, non chè↓ alcuna della sua schiera, ~~non~~ piu non gli pareva bella. E ↑tanto lo vinse il passione↓ sul~~le~~ ginocchi‹i›o prego la Morte, di amarlo come egli l'amava ↑‹lei›e di fare suo piacere↓. – E la Morte disse – Ardito che tu sei! Ai ~~voti~~ ↑d‹i›esi‹i›ri↓ d‹i›el ~~cui~~ ↑quale↓ mai ha la Morte corr‹e›isposta? Si tu non mi amasti forse ti amerei, ma ↑tu↓ amondomi, io ti odio e fuggo. – Cosi dicendo ‹s›usci della spelonca, e ~~fugg‹i›en~~ la sua ~~aeria~~ ↑oscura e↓ eterea figura fu presto ~~perduta~~ ↑persa↓ fra gli intrecciati rami della selva.

↑‹Da quella cerc›Di là↓ ‹E›‹G›Il Giovane ~~cercava~~ ↑seguitava le orme↓ ‹la›della Morte, ~~tutto quel~~ per il mondo – ~~ben furono conosciuti la questi vestigii~~ e si forte fu l'amore che ‹l'ar›gli menava, che ~~molti anni~~ aveva cercato da per tutto l'orbe, e molti anni erano gia ~~passati~~ ↑spenti↓, ~~ed i capelli suoi avevano divenuti bianci~~ ~~piu per dolor~~ ~~ed~~ ↑~~ma↓ il dolore piu che gli anni avevano imbiancita la chioma, e~~ ~~seccato~~ ~~spento~~ ~~il s~~ ~~la~~ ~~ed i~~ e↑d↓ ~~seccat‹a›o il vigore della membra quando~~ appassito il fiore della forma, ‹f›quando si trovò su~~ll~~ai ~~falda~~ ↑confini↓ della stessa selva, dalle quale ~~comin~~ ↑aveva↓ cominciato il suo misero errare ↑comi↓‹.›; e si gettava sull erba lagrimando, e le sue lagrime l'accecava tanto, ~~q~~ che per molto tempo non se n'avved‹è›eva, che tutt‹i›e quelle che bagnavano il viso e ~~le mani~~ ↑il petto↓ non furono sue, – ↑proprie,↓ ma che una donna pianse con lui, per pietà del suo pianto. ‹C›E levando gli occhi, la vidde, e ↑i↓l'~~amore~~ suo ~~p~~ amore per la Morte ~~spariva ‹–›, subi~~ ↑subito,↓ ~~perche amava~~ ~~sfuggiv~~ ~~lasciavo voto il cuore, e trono del cuore~~ e ~~l'imagine di questa angelica donna ci sedev‹i›a, e~~ ~~fu cacciato in Mor~~ ~~travolto~~ ↑fu ↑subito↓ cangiato↓ in odio e sospetto, perchè questo nuovo amore fu si forte, che vinse ~~non~~ ogni altro ~~pensiere – e la~~ E quella donna, ~~la~~ ~~tanta fu la sua divina compassione~~, ‹G›primo l'amava per pieta sola, ~~e~~ ma tosto col compassione crebbe l'amore stesso ↑~~schi~~↓; non avendo piu uopo di ~~compassione~~ ↑essere compatito↓ alcun‹e›o

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amato da lei. ~~Questa era la quella per la ↑quale,↓ Amore, non giudicandolo ancora indegno, scese del cielo, e l‹a›o fece tanto soffrire, in questa~~ Fu questa la donna per la quale amore ~~l‹a›o~~ men‹ò›ava il giovane in quel ~~laberinto~~ oscuro laberinto, e gli fece tanto soffrire‹,›; ~~g~~ o che lo gi‹e›udicava ancora indegno di tanta gloria, o ~~che~~ ↑che lo v‹e›idde↓ troppo debole per tolerare ~~gi~~ si immensa gioia. – ~~Il giovane e questa Non sono parole che possono~~ ↑capaci di↓ ~~rappresentare questa donna~~ i ~~soli pensieri dell'anim‹a›e gentile ‹fi›possono figurarla~~ ↑E ↑ci↓ sono, chi dicono chi↓ Le anime di ‹d›tutti i due furono segnati, davanti d'essere nate nel mondo, a contentarsi una ‹n›della↑'↓altra, e di non contentarsi finche ~~non furo furon‹i›o divise.~~↑,↓ ~~‹T›E tutti passioni fuorche quelli che~~ Quest‹o›e ‹an›due si ~~cambiavan~~ passegiavano insieme in quella selva, ~~finche~~ ↑quando la↓ Morte si m‹e›ise avanti, e disse, "~~Finche~~ ↑Mentre che↓ tu ~~mi~~↑,↓ o giovane, mi amasti, io ti odiav‹a›o, ~~adess~~ ora, che tu mi odiasti, io ti amo; e↑d↓ ~~ti~~ ↑io↓ voglio tanto bene a te, ed alla tua sposa, che nel mio regno↑,↓ ~~ho~~ ‹s›che tu ~~devi~~ ↑i piu↓ chiammano Paradiso ~~ti~~ ↑vi↓ ho serbato un eletto luogo, dove voi ‹v›potete ↑sicuramente↓ compire i vostri felici amori." ~~E~~ ↑Ma↓ la donna sdegnata, ~~da vedere la sfacciatetta~~ ↑e forse per un poco di gelosia cagione del passato amore della sua sposa↓ torn‹a›o il dosso sopra la morte, dicendo fra sè stesso "Che vuol questa amante del mio sposa che viene quà turbarci?" – ~~ed il giovane r~~ ~~ed~~ e chiamò, vita vita! e la ‹v›Vita venne, col viso allegra cor‹a›onato d un iride, e vestita in pelle di ↑versicolor[47] manto di↓ ‹ch›camaleone e la Morte si ne andò ~~ridendo, io~~ piangendo, e ↑di↓partendo disse, dolcemente – ~~Tu mi~~ Voi mi sospettate, ma io vi ~~lo~~ perdono, e vi aspetto, dove ~~a~~ b‹e›isogna che passiate; ~~ed Amore abb~~ ↑perche io abito col↓ Amore ed ‹e›Eternità, – ~~e tu~~ con quelle e forza che si ↑praticassero, ↑tutte↓ quelle anime↓ che eternamente amano‹.›: ↑‹s›e Voi ‹tr›verrete allora, si io ho meritato i vostri dubbij.↓ Intanto ‹r›‹ti›vi raccammando alla Vita e Sorella mia, ti prego per amore di quella Morte dall‹e›a quale ~~mai tu non eri divisa~~ ↑tu sei la gemella↓, di non adoperare ↑piu↓ contro di questi amanti le tue solite arte‹,›; ~~ma di conducergli a me senza~~ che ti basti il tributo gia pagato ↑da loro↓ di lagrime e ~~di~~ sospiri, che sono le ricchezze tue – ~~E lo~~ Il Giovane, rammen‹d›tandosi di quanti mali ~~aveva~~ ↑la↓ gli aveva recata in quel bosco, si ~~p~~

[47] Latin for "iridescent".

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disfida della Vita; ~~ed la Donna la~~ ma la Donna quantunque ↑fu↓ sospetto‹sannd›sa ~~nondimenino~~, essendo forse gelosa della morte, credeva ~~di farla dispetto.~~ di ~~andare piu s~~

Text: Shelley's 1819-1821 Huntington Notebook No. 1. HM 2176, fols. 35^{v} *rev.* - 41^{r} *rev.*, 3^{v} *rev.* - 7^{v} *rev.*
Published: P.B. Shelley 1862, 62-67 (conflation of draft and fair copy); P.B. Shelley 1911a, 158-170 (transcription of MS.); Giartosio De Courten 1923, 261-266 (conflation of draft and fair copy); *J*, VI, 279-282 (conflation of draft and fair copy); P.B. Shelley 1954, 298-299 (conflation of draft and fair copy); *MYRS*, VI, 206-229, 352-369 (facsimile and transcription of MS.); P.B. Shelley 1995, 1329-1332 (conflation of draft and fair copy); P.B. Shelley 2018b, 778-781 (conflation of draft and fair copy).

There was a certain youth from a distant land, who travelled through the world to find a woman, with whom he had been in love since his green years. – And who that woman was, and first how this youth fell in love with her, and why the love he had, which was so strong, ceased are things worthy to be known by every gentle heart. –

At the dawn of the fifteenth spring of his life, One called Love, appeared to this youth, followed by a large host of people all veiled with white veils and crowned with myrtle and laurel and ivy interwoven with violets roses and cornflowers. – And they sang so sweetly that, you would say the harmony of the spheres, to which the stars dance, was perhaps less sweet – And their manners were so gentle that this youth was enticed to do what was wished by the one called Love: and he followed him by lonely ways and forests and caverns until they had all arrived at {a} wood between two most lofty mountains; which was planted maze-like with pines cypresses, cedars and yews, the shadows of which aroused a mixture of delight and of horror – And here for a whole year he followed the footsteps of his companion and guide like the moon follows the earth. And he was fed a herb that was at once bitter and sweet, the fruits of a certain tree which was in the middle of the labyrinth, and being cold as ice on the lips, seemed fire in the veins. – And these veiled forms flitted around him, and were his ministers, and the messengers between him and Love whenever they were divided but they never consented

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to unveil themselves, even though he begged them; except for One who was called Life, and had the fame of being a strong enchantress. She was tall of person and beautiful, cheerful, and self-possessed, richly adorned and as it seemed from her unveiling herself she loved this youth; but she was soon discovered to be more false than any Siren, for on her advice, Love abandoned him in this savage place, and they both left him alone with these veiled forms; and nobody can clarify whether those were the spectres of his dead thoughts or the shadows of the living ones of Love.

At that point Life hid herself in the inner part of a cave of a sister of hers who lived there, and Love returned sighing to his third sphere.

No sooner had Love departed than the masked forms released from his law, all together unveiled and presented themselves before the astonished youth. Their horrible aspect, and sad figure so filled his heart with melancholy, and for many days he wept so much, that the grass on his path nourished with tears instead of dew turned pale and bent like him. The said figures danced around him during the day, wherever he went, now mocking him, and now threatening him, and when he rested, they paraded in slow and long procession before his bed, each more hideous and terrible than the other. – Finally weary of this ill-treatment he went to the cavern of the Sister of Life, who was also an enchantress, and found her sitting in front of a slow fire of cypress wood singing sweetly sorrowful weaving a white shroud trimmed with many strange hieroglyphics, and he begged her to tell him her name and she said with a faint but sweet voice "Death." – {And the youth} said – O beautiful Death I beg you to help me against those annoying images companions of your Sister, which keep tormenting me – And Death laughed sweetly, and kisses his brow, so that every vein trembled with joy and fear and she kept him with her, in a room of her cave, whence he hoped he would never come out again. For he fell in love so strongly with Death, that neither Life herself, nor any of her host, seemed beautiful to him any longer. And passion so overcame him he begged Death on his knees, to love him as he loved her and to do his pleasure. – And Death said – Bold that you are! Whose wishes has Death ever met? If you did not love me I might love you, but since you love me, I hate you and I flee. – Thus saying she left the cave, and her dark and ethereal figure was soon lost amid the intertwined boughs of the forest.

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Thence the Youth followed Death's footprints, throughout the world – and the love that led him was so strong, that he had searched all over the world, and many years had already gone by, and withered the flower of his form, when he found himself on the verge of the very forest, whence he had begun his wretched wanderings; and he cast himself upon the grass weeping, and his tears so blinded him, that for a long time he did not realise, that not all that wet his face and bosom were his own, but that a woman wept with him, for pity of his weeping. And lifting his eyes, he saw her, and his love for Death was immediately changed into hatred and suspicion, for this new love was so strong, that it overpowered every other {thought –} And that woman, at first loved him only out of pity, but soon love itself grew with compassion; for nobody loved by her needed to be pitied any longer. This was the woman for whom love led the youth in that gloomy labyrinth, and made him suffer so much; either because he esteemed him unworthy yet of so much glory, or because he saw him too weak to tolerate such immense joy. – And there are some, who say that the souls of both had been destined, before they were born into the world, to be satisfied with one another, and not to be satisfied as long as {they were separated.} These two were walking together in that forest, when Death stepped in front of them, and said, "While you, o youth, loved me, I hated you, now, that you hate me, I love you; and I love you, and your bride, so much that in my kingdom, which most people call Paradise I have reserved you a chosen place, where you may securely fulfil your happy love." But the woman irritated, and perhaps out of a little jealousy caused by the past love of her spouse turned her back on death, saying within herself "What does this lover of my spouse want who comes here to disturb us?" – and she called, life life! and Life came, with her cheerful countenance crowned with a rainbow, and wearing an iridescent chameleon's skin and Death went away weeping, and departing she said, sweetly – You suspect me, but I forgive you, and I will wait for you, where you needs must pass; for I dwell with Love and Eternity, – with them all those souls which eternally love have to become familiar: and You will see then, if I deserved your doubts. In the meantime I entrust you to Life and Sister mine, I beg you for that Death's sake whose twin you are, not to employ your usual arts against these lovers any more; content yourself with the tribute already paid by them of tears and sighs, which are your riches – The Youth, remembering how many evils she

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had caused him in that wood, distrusts Life; but the Woman although she was suspicious, being perhaps jealous of death, believed that

II (Fair Copy)

Una Favola [48]

C'era un giovane il quale viaggiava per paesi lontani, cercando per il mondo una donna, della quale esso fu innamorato. E chi fu que‹st›lla donna, e come questo giovane s'innamorò di lei, e come e perchè gli cessa l'amore tanto forte che aveva, sono cose degne d'essere conosciute da ogni gentil cuore.

Al spuntare della decima quinta primavera della sua vita, ‹u›Uno chiamandosi Amore, gli destava dicendo, che una chi ↑egli↓ aveva molte volte veduto nei sogni gli ‹as›stava aspettando. ↑Quello↓ Fu accompagnato d'una schiera immensa di persone, tutte velate in bianchi veli, e coronate di lauro, ellera e mirto inghirlandite ed intrecciate di viole, rose, e fiordilisi. Cantavano si dolcemente che forse l'armonia delle ~~stella~~ ↑sfere↓ alla quale le stelle ballano, è meno soave. E le maniere e le parole loro erano cosi lusinghevole, che il giovane fu alletato, e levandosi dal letto, si fece pronto di fare ‹i›tutto il volere di quello che si chiamava Amore; al di cui cenno lo seguitava per solinghe vie ed eremi e ~~montagne~~ caverne, finchè ~~tutti~~ tutta la schiera arrivò ad uno bosco solitario in una cupa valle fra due altissime montagne, il quale fu piantato a guisa di laberinto di pini ~~ced~~ cipressi, cedari e tassi, le ombre dei quale destavano un misto di diletto e malinconia. Ed in questo bosco il giovane seguitava per un anno intero i passi incerti di questo compagno e duce suo, come la luna segue la terra; non però, tramutandosi come essa. E fu egli nutrito dell‹a›e fruttà d'un certo albero che crebbe nel mezzo del laberinto‹,›; un

[48] The title is given only in the fair copy.

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cibo insieme dolce ed amaro, il quale essendo freddo come ghiaccio sulle labbre, pareva fuoco nelle vene. – Le forme velate sempre ‹lo›gli furono intorno, erano servi e ministri ubb‹e›idienti al menomo cenno, e corrieri fra lui ed Amore, ‹s›quando per affari suoi l'Amore un poco lo lascierebbe. Ma queste forme, eseguendo ogni ‹or›altra ordin‹a›e sua prestamente, mai non vollero svelarsi a lui quantunque l‹o›e prega‹va›sse sollecitamente; eccetuato Una, chi aveva nome la Vita, ed aveva riputazione di ‹g›incantatrice gagliarda. Era essa grande di persona e bella; allegra e sciolta ed ornata riccamente, e, siccome pareva dal suo pronto svelarsi, voleva bene a questo giovane: ma ben presto la riconobbe d'essere piu finta che alcuna Sirena, ‹per›poichè per consiglio suo, Amore gli lasci‹a›ò~~va~~ ~~solo~~ in questo selvaggio luogo, colla sola compagnia di queste velate, le quale, per il loro ostinato celarsi, sempre gli avevano fatt‹o›a qualche paura. E, si quelle forme erano i ~~spettiri~~ spettri dei suoi proprii morti pensieri, o le ombre dei vivi pensieri del'Amore, nessuno può schiarire. La Vita, vergognandosi forse della sua fraude, si cel‹a›ò~~va~~ allora dentro alla spelonca d'una sua Sorella abitando colà; ed Amore se ne tornò, sospirando, alla sua terza sfera.

Appena fu partito Amore, quando le mascherate forme, ‹~~si svelaro~~›solute dalla sua legge, si svelarono davanti al attonito giovane. E per molti giorni le sopradette figure ballavano intorno di lui dovunque andasse, ora mottegiando ed ora minacciandolo, e ↑la notte↓ quando riposava, sfilavano in lunga e lenta processione davanti al suo letto, ognuna piu schifosa e terribile che l'altra. Il loro orribile aspetto e ria figura gli ingombrava tanto il cuore di tristezza, che il bel cielo, coperto di quella ombra, si vesti di nuvoloso lutto agli occhi suoi; e tanto pianse, che le erbe del suo cammino pasciute di lagrime in vece di rugiada, diventarono, come lui, pallide e chinate. Stanco alfine di questo soffrire, veniva alla grotta della Sorella della Vita, incantatrice anch'ella, e la trovò seduta davanti un pallido fuoco di odorose legnà, cantando lai soavamente dolorose, e tessendo una bianca mortaja, sopra la quale, suo nome era a mezzo intessuto, con qualche altro nome, oscuro ed imperfetto; ed egli la prego di dirlo suo nome, ed ella disse ‹in›con voce fiocca ma dolce – "La Morte" – ed il Giovane disse – "O bella Morte! ‹v›ti prego di ajutarmi contro di quest‹i›e nojos‹i›e imagini, compagni della tua sorella, le quale mi tormentano tuttavia." E la Morte lo rassicurò, e ↑gli↓ prese la ~~sua~~ mano, ridendo, e gli bacia la fronte, e le guancie; sicchè

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tremava ogni vena, di gioia e di paura; e gli fece stare presso di se, in una ~~stanza~~ ↑camera↓ della sua grotta, dove, disse, fu contro al destino che le rie forme, compagne della Vita, venissero. Il giovane, continuamente praticandosi ‹de›colla Morte, ~~ed le e ri~~ ed ella, col animo di sorella, carezzandolo, e facendo ogni cortesia di atto e di parola; ~~alfine s'inn~~ ben presto s'innamorò di lei; e la Vita stessa, non chè alcuna della sua schiera, ‹no›piu non gli pareva bella. E tanto lo vinse la passione, che sul ginocchiò, pregò la Morte, ‹a›di amarlo come egli amava lei, e di voler fare il suo piacere. Ma la Morte disse "Ardito che tu siei! Ai desiri del quale mai, ha la Morte corrisposta? Si tu non mi amasti, io forse ti amerei, ma amandomi, io ti odio, e fuggo." Cosi dicendo, uscì dalla spelonca, e la sua oscura ed eterea figura fu presto persa fra gli intrecciati rami della selva.

Da quel punto il Giovane seguiva le orme della Morte, e si forte fu l'amor chi lo menava, che aveva circuito l'orbe, ed indagat‹i›o ogni sua regione; e molti anni erano già spenti, ma le soffranze piu chè gli anni avevano imbiancit‹e›a la chioma ed appassito il fiore della forma, quando si trovò sui confini della stessa selva dalla quale aveva cominciato il suo misero errare. E si gittò sull'erba, e per molti ore pianse; e le ~~sue~~ lagrime l'accecavano tanto, che per molto tempo non se n'avviddè, che tutte quelle che ~~p~~ bagnavano il viso e il petto, non furono sue proprie; ma chè una donna chinata dietro di lui pianse per pieta del suo pianto. E levando gli occhi la vidde; e mai gli pareva d'aver veduto una visione si gloriosa: e dubitava forte si fosse cosa umana. Suo amore per la morte, fu improvvisamente cangiato in odio e sospetto, perche questo nuovo amore fu si forte che vinse ogni altro pensiere. – E ‹la›quella pietosa donna, primo gli amava per pietà sola, ma tosto col compassione crebbe l'amore; e gl'amava schiettamente, non avendo piu uopo d'essere compatito, alcuno amato da quella. Fu questa la donna, in traccia della quale, Amore aveva menato il giovane per quel oscuro laberinto, e fatto tanto errare e soffrire; fosse che lo giudicava indegno ancora di tanta gloria, o che lo ~~giu~~ v‹i›edeva debole per ‹s›tolerare si immensa gioia. Dopo avere un poco asciugato il pianto, quei due passeggiavano insieme in questa stessa selva, ——— ——— [49]

[49] The single word "selva", followed by the comma and two long dashes, is written on top of Bodleian MS. Shelley adds. c. 4, fol. 253^{r}, the rest of which is blank, like fol. 253^{v}.

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Text: Bodleian MS. Shelley adds. c. 4, fols. 250[r]-253[r].
Published: P.B. Shelley 1862, 62-66; P.B. Shelley 1911a, 159-169; Giartosio De Courten 1923, 261-265; *J*, VI, 279-281; P.B. Shelley 1954, 298-299; *BSM*, XXI, 250-263 (facsimile and transcription of MS.); P.B. Shelley 1995, 1329-1331; P.B. Shelley 2018b, 778-781.

A Fable

There was a youth who travelled through distant lands, seeking a woman throughout the world, with whom he was in love. And who that woman was, and how this youth fell in love with her, and how and why the love he had, which was so strong, ceases, are things worthy to be known by every gentle heart.

At the dawn of the fifteenth spring of his life, One called Love, awoke him saying, that a woman he had seen many times in his dreams was waiting for him. He was accompanied by an immense host of people, all veiled with white veils, and crowned with laurel, ivy and myrtle garlanded and interwoven with violets, roses, and cornflowers. They sang so sweetly that perhaps the harmony of the spheres to which the stars dance, is less gentle. And their manners and words were so alluring, that the youth was enticed, and rising from his bed, he made himself ready to do all that was wished by the one called Love; at whose sign he followed him by lonely ways and deserts and caverns, until the whole host arrived at a solitary wood in a gloomy valley between two most lofty mountains, which was planted maze-like with pines cypresses, cedars and yews, the shadows of which aroused a mixture of delight and melancholy. And in this wood for a whole year the youth followed the uncertain footsteps of his companion and guide, like the moon follows the earth; but without changing as it does. And he was fed the fruits of a certain tree which grew in the middle of the labyrinth; a food at once sweet and bitter, which being cold as ice on the lips, seemed fire in the veins. – The veiled forms were always around him, they were servants and ministers obedient to his least gesture, and messengers between him and Love, when for reasons of his own Love left him for a while. But whereas these forms promptly executed his every other command, they never consented to unveil

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themselves to him even though he eagerly begged them; except for One, whose name was Life, and had the fame of being a strong enchantress. She was tall of person and beautiful; cheerful and self-possessed and richly adorned, and, as it seemed from her promptly unveiling herself, she loved this youth: but he soon discovered her to be more false than any Siren, for on her advice, Love left him in this savage place, in the sole company of these veiled, which, because of their obstinately concealing themselves, had always rather scared him. And nobody can clarify, whether those forms were the spectres of his own dead thoughts, or the shadows of the living thoughts of Love. Then Life, perhaps ashamed of her deceit, hid herself in the cave of a Sister of hers who lived there; and Love returned, sighing, to his third sphere.

No sooner had Love departed, than the masked forms, released from his law, unveiled themselves before the astonished youth. And for many days the said figures danced around him wherever he went, now mocking and now threatening him, and at night when he rested, they paraded in long and slow procession before his bed, each more hideous and terrible than the other. Their horrible aspect and loathsome figure so filled his heart with sadness, that the fair sky, covered with that shadow, clothed itself in clouds of mourning to his eyes; and he wept so much, that the grass on his path nourished with tears instead of dew, turned pale and bent, like him. Finally weary of this suffering, he came to the cave of the Sister of Life, who was also an enchantress, and found her sitting in front of a pale fire of perfumed wood, singing sweetly sorrowful laments, and weaving a white shroud, upon which, his name was half woven, with some other name, obscure and imperfect; and he begged her to tell him her name, and she said with a faint but sweet voice – "Death" – and the Youth said – "O beautiful Death! I beg you to help me against these annoying images, companions of your sister, which keep tormenting me." And Death reassured him, and took his hand, laughing, and kisses his brow, and his cheeks; so that every vein trembled, with joy and with fear; and she kept him with her, in a chamber of her cave, where, she said, it was against fate that the loathsome forms, companions of Life, came. The youth, continually conversing with Death, and she, with a sister's heart, caressing him, and showing him every courtesy in deed and in word; he soon enough fell in love with her; and neither Life herself, nor any of her host, seemed beautiful to him any longer. And passion so overcame him, that he begged Death, on

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his knees, to love him as he loved her, and consent to do his pleasure. But Death said "Bold that you are! Whose wishes has Death ever met? If you did not love me, I might love you, but since you love me, I hate you, and I flee." Thus saying, she left the cave, and her dark and ethereal figure was soon lost amid the intertwined boughs of the forest.

From that point the Youth followed Death's footprints, and the love that led him was so strong, that he had gone around the world, and searched through all its regions; and many years had already gone by, but sorrows rather than years had whitened his hair and withered the flower of his form, when he found himself on the verge of the very forest whence he had begun his wretched wanderings. And he cast himself upon the grass, and wept for many hours; and his tears so blinded him, that for a long time he did not realise, that not all that wet his face and bosom, were his own; but that a woman bending behind him wept for pity of his weeping. And lifting his eyes he saw her; and he seemed never to have beheld such a glorious vision: and he doubted much whether she were a human thing. His love for death, was suddenly changed into hatred and suspicion, for this new love was so strong that it overpowered every other thought. – And that compassionate woman, at first loved him only out of pity, but soon love grew with compassion; and she loved him truly, for nobody loved by her needed to be pitied any longer. This was the woman, in search of whom, Love had led the youth through that gloomy labyrinth, and made him err and suffer so much; either because he esteemed him unworthy yet of so much glory, or because he saw him weak to tolerate such immense joy. After drying their tears somewhat, those two were walking together in that same forest, ——— ———

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16
Letter to Teresa Guiccioli, 10 August 1821

Ravenna Agosto 10. 1821. [50]

Signora

Alla richiesta del mio amico Lord Byron, io mi faccio un dovere di presentare a lei alcune considerazioni relativamente al ~~suo~~ viaggio proposto a Ginevra: onde darle una idea delle inconvenienti ‹ch›le quale ne potrebbero risultare. Mi lusingo che ‹e›Ella accettera questa richiesta, non meno che i motivi i quali mi spingono di adempirla, come una scusa per la licenza ~~ch~~' ↑la quale,↓ uno affatto straniere [51] ~~ho~~ prende, indrizzandosi a lei. – L'unico mio scopo, è la tranquillità del mio amico, e di coloro nella ~~cui~~ sorte ‹di›dei quali egli si trova si profondamente interessato – io non posso avere altro motivo – e sia un pegno della mia sincerità schietta, ch'io anche sono stato la vittima del pretismo ~~de~~ e della tirannia; e che, come ella ed i suoi, io trovo per tutta ricompensa del mio amore per la patria, le persecuzioni e le calonnie. – Permetta, che'io espongo le ragione per le quale mi ~~pa~~ sembra che Ginevra, sarebbe, per loro un ~~ino~~ asilo inopportuno. – Le sue circonstanze ‹s›non sono molto diverse di quelle nelle quale la mia famiglia e Lord Byron si trovarono nella state del anno 1816. Le nostre case ‹e›furono vicine: e non ric‹o›ercando altra società, il nostro modo di vivere fu~~r~~ ritirato e tranquillo. Non si potrebbe ~~imaginare~~ figurarsi una vita piu semp‹re›lice ~~ed~~ [?~~innocente~~] che la nostra, o meno adattata ad attirarsi le calonnie che ci furono lanciate. Queste calonnie furono delle piu inaudite; e troppo infamante per lasciare ai suoi oggetti il rifugio di disprezzo. I Ginevrini e gli Inglesi quà stabiliti non esitavano di affermare che noi mena‹mo›vamo una vita del piu sfacciato libertinaggio, avendo segnat‹o›i un patto fra di noi di oltreggiare tutto ciò che e tenuto piu sacro nella società

[50] Shelley wrote this letter during his visit to Byron in Ravenna, before making Teresa Guiccioli's acquaintance.
[51] A variant spelling of *straniero* (*GDLI*, s.v.).

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umana. Mi perdoni s'io tralascio le dettaglie di questo. – incesto, ateismo, ed io non so che altre cose, ora ridicole ed ora orrende, ci furono imputate; e gli giornali Inglesi non tard‹o›arono di spacciare il scandolo, – ni quella nazione di prestarlo intera fede. Quasi nessuno modo di ~~p~~ dispiacere fu risparmiato. Gli abitanti della riva del lago, dirimpett‹a›o la casa del Lord Byron, facevano uso dei cannochiali per spiare ogni suo movimento. Una dama Ingles‹e›a, svenne o faceva spezie di svenire d'orrore, al suo solo aspetto. Le piu oltreggianti caricature di lui e dei suoi amici, furono ‹o›publicate – tutto cio accadde nel corto tempo di tre mesi. – L'effetto sul spirito di Lord Byron fu infelicissimo: la sua alegrezza naturale l'aveva quasi interamente abandonat‹o›a – un u‹m›omo forse deve essere piu o meno d'un Stoico, anzi d'un uomo, per sopportare pazientemente tale ingiurie. – Che Ella non si lusinga coll'idea che gli Inglesi, rico‹n›conoscendo Lord Byron per il maggior poeta dei nostri tempi, si astenneranno percio dal inquietare, e si fossero capaci, dal persecutarlo. La loro ammirazione per i suoi scritti gli e strappata involontariamente: è ↑e c è↓ per piacer loro, che gli leggono: quanto ‹è›c è per motivo dei prejudiz‹j›ij inveterati che lo calunniano. – Quanto ai Ginevresi – quei non gli inquieterebbero; se non ci fosse stabilita una colonia dei Inglesi, ~~por~~ che portano seco i suoi princip‹i›j ristretti, e quel irrequieto odio per tutti coloro che gli sorpassono o gli evitano. – e queste cause non potendo cancellarsi dalle circonstanze attuale, farebbero nascere i soliti effetti. – Gli Inglesi sono a Ginevra in tal numero, che ugualono quasi i nativi – le loro ricchezze gli fanno ricercati: i Ginevrini essendo, in paragone di loro ospiti, co‹i›me camerieri, o al piu padroni di locanda di loro città affittuaria. – Una circonstanza da me conosciuta ‹ci›potrebbe ~~dare~~ ↑fornire↓ una prova della rece‹p›zione che si deve aspettare a Ginevra – ~~Que‹ll›sto~~ L'unico Ginevrino, il quale Lord Byron credeva fedele a lui, ↑e↓ sulla lealtà di cui aveva ogni motivo per riposare, è giustamente quello chi ~~divulge~~ sparge senza riguardi le piu infamanti ~~di~~ calonnie; ↑questo,↓ senza accorgersene, ~~quello~~ faceva aperta ad un mio amico tutta la sua malizia. Onde, io lo credeva del mio dovere di prevenire il amico della sua ipocrisìa e malignità. –

Ella non potrebbe concepire l'eccessiva violenza ~~colle~~ ↑colla↓ quale gli Inglesi d'una certa classe, odiano ~~qu~~ coloro, la condotta e le opinione dei quali non sono precisamente quadrate sul modello delle loro. Il sistema di queste idee forma una supersti‹t›zione che sempre ‹c›richiede e sempre trova vittime: forte che sia l'odio teologico, ceda però, fra di loro, al

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odio sociale. – Questo sistema, è, al Ginevra, l'ordine del giorno; – ed una volta messo in attività per inquietare Lord Byron ed i suoi amici‹:›, io temo che le stesse cause non tarderanno ~~di~~ ↑a↓ produrre ‹gli›le stess‹i›e ~~effetti~~ conseguenze, si il viaggio proposto ~~sia~~ ↑sarebbe↓ effettuato. – Abituata ai costumi miti d'Italia, appena Ella può concepire il punto al quale arriva quest'odio sociale in luoghi meno fortunati. – Io lə'ho esperimentato: ho veduto tutto ciò che è piu caro a me involuto fra queste inestricabili calonnie: la mia situazione ~~fu simi~~ rassomigliava, sotto certi ‹a›rapporti, quella del suo fratello: e ↑perciò io↓ mi faccio premura di risparmiare a lei ed a lui il male del ~~cui~~ ↑quale↓ io ho avuto esperienza così fatale. – Io mi astengo dal aggiungere altr‹i›e ragioni. – La supplico di scusare l‹e›a libertà colla quale ho scritto: è dettata dai motivi i piu sinceri, e giustificata dalla richiesta del mio amico – al quale io lascio l'impegno di assicurarla della mia devozione ai suoi interessi, quanto a quei di tutto ciò che gli e caro. –

Mi dichiaro con somma stima, Signora –

Suo sincero ed um^o^ Serv^e^
Percy. B. Shelley.

– Ella saprà perdonare ad un barbaro ~~l'~~ il cattivo Italiano che vela i sentimenti onesti della mia lettera.

Text: Pforzheimer MS. PBS 0269.
Unpublished.

Ravenna 10 August 1821.

Madam

At the request of my friend Lord Byron, I make a point of presenting to you some considerations relating to the proposed journey to Geneva: so as to give you an idea of the inconveniences which may result from it. I flatter myself that You will accept this request, no less than the motives which prompt me to fulfil it, as an excuse for the liberty which,

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an utter stranger has taken, in addressing you. – My only aim, is the tranquillity of my friend, and of those in whose fate he finds himself so deeply involved – I cannot have any other motive – and be it a token of my frank sincerity, that I too have been the victim of priestly intrigue and of tyranny; and that, like you and your family, I meet with persecutions and slanders, as sole recompense for my love of my country. – Allow me to expound the reasons for which it seems to me that Geneva, would be, an unsuitable refuge for you. – Your circumstances are not very different from those in which my family and Lord Byron found themselves in the summer of the year 1816. Our houses were near each other: and as we did not seek other company, our way of life was secluded and quiet. A more simple life than ours, or less suited to attract the slanders that were thrown at us, could not be imagined. These slanders were of the most unheard of kind; and too defaming to leave their objects the refuge of contempt. The Genevans and the Englishmen here established did not hesitate to affirm that we led a life of the most shameless libertinism, having signed a pact among us to outrage all that is held most sacred in human society. Pardon me if I omit the details of this – incest, atheism, and I do not know what other things, now ridiculous and now horrendous, were imputed to us; and the English newspapers did not waste time in spreading the scandal, – nor that nation in giving it full credence. Hardly any mode of displeasure was spared. The inhabitants of the lakeside, opposite Lord Byron's house, made use of telescopes to spy on every movement of his. An English lady, fainted or pretended to faint in horror, at the mere sight of him. The most outrageous caricatures of him and his friends, were published – all this happened in the short time of three months. – The effect on Lord Byron's spirit was most unhappy: his natural gaiety had almost entirely abandoned him – a man must be more or less a Stoic perhaps, rather than a man, to endure such insults patiently. – Do not delude Yourself with the idea that the Englishmen, acknowledging Lord Byron as the greatest poet of our times, will therefore abstain from disturbing, and if they could, persecuting him. Their admiration for his writings is wrung from them unwillingly: and it is for their pleasure, that they read them: as much as it is for their inveterate prejudices that they slander him. – As for the Genevans – they would not disturb him; if a colony of Englishmen were not established there, who bring their narrow principles with them, and that restless hatred for all those who surpass or avoid them – and

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since these causes cannot be eliminated from the present circumstances, they would produce the usual effects. – Englishmen are so numerous in Geneva, that they almost equal the natives – their wealth makes them sought after: since, compared with their guests, Genevans are like waiters, or at best innkeepers of their rented city. – A circumstance with which I am acquainted may furnish a proof of the reception that must be expected in Geneva – The only Genevan, whom Lord Byron believed faithful to him, and in whose loyalty he had every reason to repose, is precisely the one who spreads the most defaming slanders without compunction; without realising it, this man revealed all his malice to a friend of mine. Therefore, I thought it my duty to warn my friend of his hypocrisy and malignity. –

You could not conceive the excessive violence with which the Englishmen of a certain class, hate those, whose conduct and opinions do not precisely square with the model of their own. The system of these ideas forms a superstition that always seeks and always finds victims: strong as theological hatred is, it yields however, among them, to social hatred. – This system, is, in Geneva, a daily occurrence; – and once put into action to disturb Lord Byron and his friends, I fear that the same causes will not be tardy in producing the same consequences, if the proposed journey took place. – Being used to the mild customs of Italy, You can hardly conceive the extent to which this social hatred reaches in less fortunate places. – I have experienced it: I have seen all that is dearest to me entangled in these inextricable slanders: my situation resembled that of your brother, in some respects: and therefore I am taking care to save you and him the evil of which I have had so fateful an experience. – I abstain from adding other reasons – I beg You to excuse the liberty with which I have written: it is dictated by the most sincere motives, and justified by the request of my friend – to whom I leave the task of assuring you of my devotion to his interests, as much as to those of all who are dear to him. –

I declare myself with the highest esteem, Madam –

Your sincere and most humble Servant
Percy. B. Shelley.

– You will be able to forgive a barbarian for the bad Italian that veils the honest sentiments of my letter.

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17
Letter to Teresa Guiccioli, 22 August 1821

Pisa, Agosto 22. 1821.

Signora

Non ho che un momento prima dal partire del suo padre per respondere alla sua lettera, e ‹s›mi sento affatto incapace di esprimere i miei sentimenti sulla confidenza di quella ella si ‹c›ha compiaciutaciuta di onorarmi. Spero che mi ne la trovera degno. – Si assicura, che ~~nullo~~ nessuno mezzo da me sara omesso di affrettare la partenza del Milord, persuaso che sono che la di lui felicità, ~~dipende~~ non meno che la sua, dipende dalla vicinanza di quella che e stata il suo buono Angelo, quella che ‹l›gli ha menato dalle tenebre alla luce; e chi merita la riconoscenza non solamente di lui ma anzi di tutti quei che gli amano. – – Ho quasi fissato la sua casa, ~~ma~~ e spero di essere in tempo per annunziare il termine del trattato prima d‹a›ella partenza della posta. – ~~Scusi~~ Che ella scusi la rozza frase d'un cuore sincero, e non dubiti del profondo interesse che ella ne ha svegliato, o che sono e saro colle somma devozione – Suo servo ed amico

Percy Shelley.

– Prego i saluti della mia amicizia al suo stimato fratello. –

Alla Nobile Donna
La Sig[a] Contessa Guiccioli
Firenze.

Text: Pforzheimer MS. PBS 0270.
Published: *PBSL*, II, 340 (Teresa Guiccioli's transcription); Guiccioli 1983, V, 780-782; Guiccioli 2005, 604.

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Pisa, 22 August 1821.

Madam

I have but a moment to reply to your letter before your father's leaving, and I feel totally incapable of expressing my feelings about the confidence with which you have been pleased to honour me. I hope you will find me worthy of it. – Be assured, that no means will be omitted by me to hasten the departure of Milord, persuaded as I am that his happiness, no less than your own, depends on his being near the one who has been his good Angel, the one who has led him from darkness to light; and who deserves not only his gratitude but indeed that of all those who love him. – – I have almost settled on your house, and I hope I will be in time to announce the conclusion of the contract before the post leaves. – May you excuse the rough phrasing of a sincere heart, and doubt not the deep interest you have awakened in it, or that I am and will be with the utmost devotion – Your servant and friend

Percy Shelley.

– I pray the greetings of my friendship to your esteemed brother. –

To the Noblewoman
Madam Countess Guiccioli
Florence.

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